Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

INDIANENSIS UNIVERSITATIS SIGILLUM
MDCCCXX
INDIANA
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Digitized by Google
Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

THE NEW

# China Review

EDITED BY

SAMUEL COULING, M.A. (Edin.)

*VOLUME II, 1920*

經文書局股份有限公司
LITERATURE HOUSE, LTD.
143 CHUNGKING ROAD S. SEC. 1
(OPPOSITE BANK OF TAIWAN)
P. O. BOX 1151 TAIPEI, TAIWAN
台北市重慶南路一段一四三號

Digitized by Google
Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

INDIANA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

DS 701
.N52
v.2

Republished By:

Literature House, Ltd.

143 Chung King South Road, Sec. 1
Taipei, Taiwan
Republic of China
1964

發行人：翁　陸　佩　明

地址：台北市重慶南路一段一四三號

發行所：經文書局股份有限公司

地址：台北市重慶南路一段一四三號

印刷所：正　大　印　製　廠

地址：三重市長生街二號之一

中華民國五十三年

Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

# LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS. Vol. 2.

---


| | PAGE |
|---|---|
| Arlington, L. C. .. .. .. .. .. | 211, 306, 491 |
| Backhouse, Sir E. Trelawny, BART. | 195 |
| Cornaby, The Rev. W. A. .. .. .. | 517 |
| Doré, Rev. Père Henri, S.J. .. .. | 44 |
| Gaunt, The Rev. T. .. .. .. .. | 544 |
| Giles, Professor H. A., LL.D. .. .. | 25, 319, 491 |
| Giles, Lionel, Litt.D. .. .. .. .. | 137 |
| J. C. H. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 313, 499 |
| Hopkins, L. C., I.S.O. .. .. .. | 423 |
| Hummel, The Rev. A. W. .. .. .. | 440 |
| Hutson, The Rev. J. .. .. .. .. | 69, 154, 366, 456, 563 |
| Johnston, R. F., C.B.E. .. .. .. | 1, 180, 415 |
| Laufer, Berthold .. .. .. .. .. | 109 |
| C. M. .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 207, 490 |
| Morley, Arthur .. .. .. .. .. | 298, 341, 502 |
| Moule, A. C. .. .. .. .. .. | 538 |
| Parker, Professor E. H. .. .. .. | 89, 248, 551 |
| Pott, W. S. A. .. .. .. .. .. | 448 |
| Saussure, Professor Léopold de.. .. | 513 |
| Servière, The Rev. Père J. de la, S.J. | 197 |
| Waley, Arthur .. .. .. .. .. | 591 |
| Warren, The Rev. G. G. .. .. .. | 267, 398 |
| Werner, E. T. C. .. .. .. .. .. | 223, 419 |
| White, The Rev. H. W., D.D. .. .. | 37 |
| Yetts, Colonel W. Perceval.. .. .. | 290 |


Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

# THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

## Vol. II. 1920

---

## INDEX


### A

| | PAGE |
|---|---|
| Abdication of Shun-chih ... | 12 |
| Alchemy ... ... ... ... ... | 296 |
| An Ch'i Shêng ... ... ... ... | 292 |
| *Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking* (quoted) ... | 5 |
| Approach to the Study of Confucian Ethics ... ... ... ... | 448 |

### B

| | |
|---|---|
| Backhouse and Bland (quoted) | 5 |
| Ball, C. J. ... ... ... ... ... | 37 |
| Bamboo Annals, Chronology of | 298 |
| Buddhist Hells ... ... ... ... | 395 |

### C

| | |
|---|---|
| Calendar of the Muh T'ien Tsz Chuen, The ... ... ... ... | 513 |
| Charms ... ... ... ... ... ... | 383 |
| Ch'êng Huang ... ... ... ... | 394 |
| Chia-ku Covenant ... ... ... | 360 |
| Chiao-fei ... ... ... ... ... | 71 |
| Chinese Legend, A ... ... ... | 544 |
| ,, Life on the Tibetan Foothills 69, 154, 366, 456, | 563 |
| Chinese and Sumerian ... ... | 37 |
| ,, Mourning Rites ... ... | 223 |
| Ch'ing-liang Ssŭ ... ... ... | 21 |
| Chronology, Chinese and Western ... ... ... ... ... ... | 419 |
| Chronology of the Bamboo Annals ... ... ... ... ... | 298 |
| "Chung Tzŭ-ch'i, the Sympathetic Listener" ... ... .. | 532 |
| "Comfortable Words in Sickness" ... ... ... ... ... ... | 195 |
| Confucian Society, The ... ... | 71 |
| Conjuring ... ... ... ... ... | 373 |
| Character 靈 *ling* magic ... ... | 424 |
| ,, 痺 *pi* rheumatism ... | 491 |
| ,, 無 *wu* not-to-have ... | 433 |

### D

| | PAGE |
|---|---|
| Death Penalty ... ... ... ... | 159 |
| District Magistrate, Duties of | 166 |
| Divination ... ... ... ... ... | 375 |
| D'Ollone's Investigations on Chinese Moslems ... ... 267, | 398 |
| Door Gods ... ... ... ... ... | 388 |
| Dream of the Red Chamber ... | 4 |
| Dried Priests ... ... ... ... | 313 |

### E

| | |
|---|---|
| Earliest Articulate Chinese Philosopher ... ... ... ... | 248 |
| Early Franciscan Mission in China, The ... ... ... ... | 538 |
| Eclipses and Comets ... ... | 586 |
| Editor to his Readers, The ... | 602 |
| Ethics, An Approach to the Study of Confucian ... ... | 448 |
| Evolution ... ... ... ... ... | 244 |

### F

| | |
|---|---|
| Fasts ... ... ... ... ... ... | 462 |
| Festivals ... ... ... ... ... | 394 |
| Fire and Pestilence Fast ... ... | 462 |
| Fire-proof Warehouses of Lin-an ... ... ... ... ... 207, | 309 |
| Foot-binding ... .. ... ... | 211 |
| Fortunate Isles, The ... ... ... | 291 |
| Franciscan Mission in China, The Early ... ... ... ... | 538 |

### G

| | |
|---|---|
| Geomancy ... ... ... ... ... | 568 |
| Ghosts ... ... ... ... ... ... | 368 |
| Giles, Professor, criticized ... | 591 |
| Gold-Fingered Li ... ... ... | 499 |
| Gods of Wealth ... ... ... ... | 381 |
| "Great Summons, A" ... .... | 329 |


Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

H

| | Page |
|---|---|
| Han Liu ... ... ... ... ... | 78 |
| Hanyang, Old-World Stories of | 517 |
| Hui-chên ... ... ... ... ... | 15 |
| Hui-hui ... ... ... ... ... | 399 |
| Hung Lou Mêng ... ... ... | 4 |
| Hu Shih ... ... ... ... ... | 225 |
| Hwai-Nan-tsz's Ideas, Some More of ... ... ... ... ... | 551 |

I

| | |
|---|---|
| Institut de France ... ... ... | 214 |
| Islam, The Future of ... ... | 403 |
| ,, History of ... ... ... | 408 |
| Isles of the Blest, The Chinese | 291 |

J

| | |
|---|---|
| Japanese-Chinese Question, The | 89 |

K

| | |
|---|---|
| "Kay Hong Pass, The" ... ... | 544 |
| Ko-lao-hui ... ... ... ... ... | 78 |
| Ku-lu-tzŭ ... ... ... ... ... | 75 |
| Kwan-tsz ... ... ... ... ... | 555 |
| ,, The Earliest Articulate Chinese Philosopher ... | 248 |

L

| | |
|---|---|
| Lang-chan, Le Grand Pélerinage de ... ... ... ... ... | 44 |
| Liars' Mart, The ... ... ... | 563 |
| Lieh Hsien Chuan ... ... 293, | 309 |
| Literature and Style, Chinese | 265 |
| Li-min ... ... ... ... 100, 306, | 490 |
| Lin-an, Fire-proof Warehouses of ... ... ... ... ... ... | 309 |
| Lu in Confucius' Early Years . | 341 |
| "Lu Su, the Straightforward Statesman" ... ... ... ... | 529 |
| "Lute-Girl's Song," The ... | 591 |

M

| | |
|---|---|
| Ma Hua-lung ... ... ... ... | 285 |
| Mao Hsiang ... ... ... ... | 6 |
| Meccius ... ... ... ... ... | 557 |
| Mêh-tsz ... ... ... ... 552, | 557 |
| Mei Shêng ... ... ... ... ... | 25 |
| Mei-ts'un ... ... ... ... ... | 7 |
| Moslems, d'Ollone's Investigations on Chinese ... ... 267, | 398 |
| Moslems, Insurrections ... ... | 401 |
| ,, Numbers ... ... ... | 401 |
| Moslems of Kansu ... ... ... | 274 |
| ,, of Szechuan ... ... | 272 |
| ,, of Yünnan ... ... | 268 |
| ,, Old and New Sects | 279 |
| Multiple Births Among the Chinese ... ... ... ... 109, | 415 |

N

| | |
|---|---|
| New Year Festival ... ... ... | 475 |
| Nine Startlers, The ... ... ... | 567 |

O

| | |
|---|---|
| Old-World Stories of Hanyang | 517 |

P

| | |
|---|---|
| Peh-li-hi ... ... ... ... ... | 554 |
| Pélerinage de Lang-chan, Le Grand ... ... ... ... ... | 44 |
| Peregrine, Bishop ... ... ... | 540 |
| Physiognomists ... ... ... 564, | 568 |
| Planchette, The... ... ... ... | 369 |
| Punishments ... ... ... ... | 154 |
| Pu Tzŭ-hsia Tradition in Shansi, The ... ... ... ... ... ... | 440 |

R

| | |
|---|---|
| Railway League, The ... ... | 87 |
| Reform in Mourning Rites ... | 223 |
| Re-translation, A (Poem) ... | 319 |
| Reviews— | |
| Calendrier Annuaire ... ... | 108 |
| China of the Chinese ... ... | 220 |
| Elementary Cantonese ... | 316 |
| English-Chinese Dictionary | 215 |
| Finance and Commerce ... | 599 |
| Fragments of Confucian Lore | 600 |
| History, Customs, Religion of the Ch'iang ... ... ... | 503 |
| Histoire Moderne de Pays d'Annam ... ... ... ... | 315 |
| Hong List, The North-China Desk ... ... ... ... ... | 318 |
| Israel's Messenger... ... 318, | 599 |
| Kiangsi Native Trade and its Taxation ... ... ... ... | 506 |
| Grottes de Touen-houang, Les | 505 |
| Old Tartar Trails ... ... ... | 105 |
| Peking ... ... ... ... ... | 216 |
| Reply Letters to R. F. Johnston ... ... ... ... ... | 107 |
| Relation sur le Tonkin, etc., La ... ... ... ... ... ... | 315 |


Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

| | PAGE |
|---|---|
| Shanghai ... ... ... ... ... | 508 |
| Sidelights of Song... ... ... | 504 |
| Sino-Iranica ... ... ... ... | 103 |
| Training of Mind and Will, The ... ... ... ... ... | 219 |
| Vues de Honan ... ... ... | 507 |
| Romance of an Emperor, The | 1, 180 |

**S**

| | |
|---|---|
| Saint François-Xavier et la Chine... ... ... ... ... ... | 197 |
| Salars ... ... ... ... ... ... | 276 |
| Seasons, The ... ... ... ... | 470 |
| Secret Societies ... ... ... ... | 69 |
| Shaman or Wu, The ... ... ... | 423 |
| Shu-hsiang ... ... ... ... ... | 351 |
| Shun-chih ... ... ... ... ... | 3 |
| "Silent Lady of Hsi, The" ... | 519 |
| Snakes and Dragons... ... ... | 587 |
| Spirit Rapping ... ... ... ... | 366 |
| Superstitions ... ... ... ... | 571 |

**T**

| | |
|---|---|
| T'a-fang ... ... ... | 207, 309, 490 |
| Tao ... ... ... ... ... | 250, 257 |
| Taoist Tales... ... ... ... ... | 290 |
| Temple of the Cross, The ... | 421 |
| "T'iao Hêng, The Chinese Diogenes" ... ... ... ... | 524 |
| T'ien-t'ai-sett ... ... ... | 13, 180 |
| Torture ... ... ... ... ... | 163 |
| Tsung Lu ... ... ... ... ... | 350 |
| Tungans ... ... ... ... ... | 278 |
| Tung Fu-hsiang... ... ... ... | 286 |
| ,, Hsiao-yüan ... ... ... | 6 |
| ,, Kuei-fei ... ... ... ... | 3 |
| T'u-ti Shên ... ... ... ... ... | 392 |
| Tzŭ-ch'an ... ... ... ... ... | 351 |

**W**

| | |
|---|---|
| Waley, Arthur ... ... | 27, 320, 591 |
| Wu-t'ai ... ... ... ... ... ... | 13 |
| Wu Wei-yeh ... ... ... ... | 7 |

**X**

| | |
|---|---|
| Xavier, S. François et la Chine | 197 |

**Y**

| | |
|---|---|
| Yamen Runners... ... ... ... | 174 |
| Yang Huo ... ... ... ... ... | 357 |
| Yo Fei... ... ... ... ... ... | 493 |
| Yüan Chih ... ... ... ... ... | 14 |
| Yüan Chên ... ... ... ... ... | 195 |
| Yung Lo Ta Tien ... ... ... | 137 |


Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

# PLATES


PAGE

A Winter Scene ... ... ... ... ... ... 270

Chinese and Sumerian (*characters*) ... ... ... 42

Pélerinage de Lang-chan (*plans*) ... ... ... 68

Shaman or Wu (*characters*) ... ... ... ... 423

Portraits—

Professor E. H. Parker ... ... ... ... 1

Professor Henri Cordier ... ... ... ... 109

Lionel C. Hopkins, I.S.O. ... ... ... 223



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

# THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

VOL. II FEBRUARY, 1920 No. 1

## CONTENTS


| | | PAGE |
|---|---|---|
| PORTRAIT—PROF. E. H. PARKER | | *Frontispiece* |
| THE ROMANCE OF AN EMPEROR | By R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E. | 1 |
| A POET OF THE 2ND CENTURY B.C. | By PROF. H. A. GILES, LL.D. | 25 |
| CHINESE AND SUMERIAN | By REV. H. W. WHITE, D.D. | 37 |
| LE GRAND PÉLERINAGE DE LANG-CHAN (*fin*) | By R. P. DORÉ, S.J. | 44 |
| CHINESE LIFE IN THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS | By REV. J. HUTSON | 69 |
| THE JAPANESE-CHINESE QUESTION | By PROF. E. H. PARKER | 89 |
| NOTES AND QUERIES | | 99 |
| RECENT LITERATURE | | 103 |


*The Editor will be pleased to receive suitable articles, notes, etc., and will return MSS. not accepted for publication.*

*When accepted articles are printed, twenty-five copies will be sent to the writer.*

*Subscriptions are payable in advance and are as follows for the six numbers of 1920:* Great Britain, 25/–, *post free;* United States, G. $6.50, *post free;* China, Japan, etc., Mex. $7.50, *post free.*

*Subscribers in Europe and U. S. A. should send orders and subscriptions (crossed cheques or P. O. O.) direct to the Editor, and not through agents.*

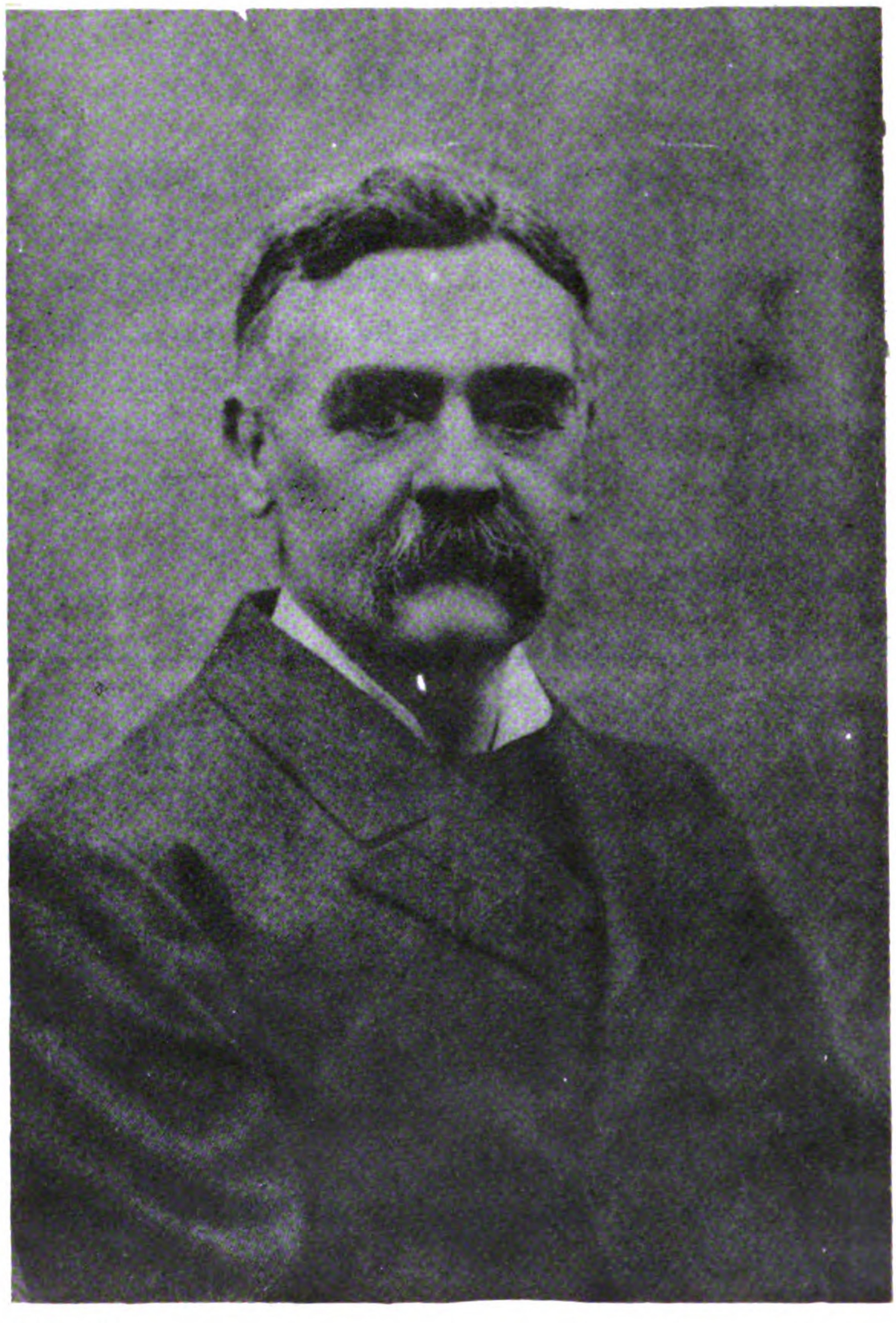
*Books for review should be sent to the Editor as early as possible.*

Editor: *Samuel Couling*,

*73 Chaoufoong Road, Shanghai, China.*

Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY



*Elliot and Fry.*

PROFESSOR EDWARD HARPER PARKER.

Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

THE NEW

CHINA REVIEW

VOL. II. February 1920. No. 1.

# THE ROMANCE OF AN EMPEROR

BY

R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E., M.A.

Ever since the establishment of the Republic, the Chinese publishing world has been reaping a rich harvest from the production of a class of literature that in earlier days no bookseller would have dared to place on his shelves or openly offer for sale. It consists of collections of stories purporting to be accurate narratives of interesting episodes in the history of the late Manchu dynasty, and to contain authentic revelations of Court secrets which, while the dynasty still occupied the throne, remained buried in the archives of private families.

It would be unjust to say that these publications are all fictitious. Some, indeed, may be regarded as mere "catch-pennies"; others seem to have been produced to gratify the



Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

very human craving for what G. K. Chesterton calls "the divine institution of gossip"; others, again, were probably invented in order to supply the revolutionary party with anti-monarchic propaganda, and with a view to bringing discredit or ridicule on the imperial house. Nevertheless there is no reason to doubt that a limited number of these widely-circulated stories contain a fair proportion of truth, and may therefore be regarded as possessing some historical interest and value. The difficulty is to know where fact begins and fiction ends. A scandalous tale or an amusing piece of gossip is not necessarily false because its immediate source was a rascally palace-eunuch who harbored a personal grudge against some high dignitary or member of the imperial family; it is not necessarily true because we know of no particular reason why it should have been invented.

What future historians are to make of this voluminous but embarrassing material is a problem which they must solve for themselves. All I propose to do in these pages is to offer some critical remarks on a certain story which concerns the career of the first emperor of the Manchu dynasty. For several reasons it is worthy of special study. In the first place, it seems to be, in one form or another, nearly as old as the dynasty itself, and therefore cannot be ascribed to the exuberant imagination of "Young China." Secondly, it is supported by what appears at first sight to be an imposing array of corroborative evidence. Thirdly, it has recently made its appearance in English dress, and is therefore now becoming widely known to that limited section of the European and American public which takes a serious interest in Chinese history. It may be added that with the exception of a detail which has no essential connexion with the main story, there is nothing in the narrative which could gratify a morbid taste for "scandal in high life." On the contrary, it is characterized by both pathos and romance, and the conscientious historian will perhaps feel no small regret if he has to relinquish it to those who know how to build palaces of art on foundations of airy fancy.



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Few of my readers will require to be reminded that the emperor Shih Tsu Chang (世祖章)—generally known by his reign-title of Shun-chih (順治)—had no personal share in the stirring events which placed him on the throne. When the Chinese rebel Li Tzû-ch'êng (李自成) occupied the capital and drove the unhappy Ming emperor Ch'ung-chêng (崇禎) to suicide, thereby giving the Manchus their opportunity to enter China and seize the supreme power, the boy who became first emperor of the new Ch'ing dynasty was barely six years old. Beginning in 1644, his reign came to an end when he was only twenty-three. According to the state-records, his death occurred at the beginning of the second month (lunar calendar) of the year that corresponds to 1661, and the funeral took place in due course at the new imperial burial-ground since known as the Tung-ling (Eastern Mausolea), where his tomb can still be seen by any visitor.

Now if we are to believe the unofficial chroniclers who are responsible for the romantic story which we propose to examine, Shun-chih did not die in 1661 nor for many years afterwards, and the state-funeral at the Eastern Mausolea was a sham.

There are several versions of the story, and some contain details which are lacking in others. But what the most complete Chinese versions have to tell us is that the young emperor was very deeply attached to one of the imperial concubines, a beautiful and accomplished lady known at Court as Tung Kuei-fei (董貴妃). This lady, says the legend, was not a Manchu but a Chinese, which fact made it impossible (under the dynastic house-law) for the emperor to carry out his wish that she should be raised to the rank of empress. The lady herself, much distressed at her imperial lover's failure to raise her to the highest attainable position, went into a decline from which she never recovered. Her premature death plunged the emperor into a profound melancholy from which nothing could rouse him; and very shortly after Tung Kuei-fei's death he decided to abdicate in favour of his infant son, known subsequently as the emperor



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Shêng Tsu Jên (聖祖仁) or K'ang-hsi (康熙), and to retire to a Buddhist monastery. As this step might, however, involve the new dynasty in political troubles and give rise to awkward questions and suspicions, it was decided in a Court conclave that the facts of the emperor's voluntary retirement should be buried in everlasting oblivion; that the demise of the crown should be publicly announced; and that the official announcement should be followed in due course by the celebration of the imperial obsequies. The story goes on to say that this extraordinary scheme was carried out to the letter, though no adequate explanation is given as to why it was thought necessary. The emperor retired to a mountain-monastery where he passed the remainder of his days under a monk's name and where he was secretly visited three times by his son and successor K'ang-hsi.

It has been recently shown by the Rev. W. Arthur Cornaby in the pages of *The New China Review*[1] that this story, or a great part of it, seems to have formed the main basis for the plot of the famous Chinese novel the *Hung Lou Mêng* (紅樓夢) known to foreigners as *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. As Mr. Cornaby points out, the latest Chinese editor of this novel has convinced himself that the author's design was to preserve for posterity a true narrative of strange events that had taken place in the imperial palace at Peking. As it would have been dangerous for him to make an open betrayal of state-secrets, he carried out his purpose in a cryptic way by an ingenious substitution of names and by veiled allusions which the casual reader would fail to understand.

The editor of *The Dream of the Red Chamber* has made out an exceedingly good case for his theory, and I have no desire to question the accuracy of any of his proposed identifications of places and persons. I am prepared to admit—or rather I am not disposed to deny—that the principal characters in this wonderful novel are really members of the imperial family and household, and that the plot is mainly

(1) Vol. i, No. 4, pp. 329 ff.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

concerned with the imagined doings of those exalted personages. But it is very necessary to lay stress on the word "imagined," for we cannot assume that a novelist's story is historically true merely because it is told in a mysterious way and hints at meanings which are not on the surface. If, as our modern editor is inclined to believe, the author was "a scion of a noble family of the Ming dynasty," that is hardly a valid reason for accepting him as a trustworthy and unbiassed guide in matters affecting the successors of that dynasty. Moreover, a member of a noble family of the fallen house is hardly likely to have had access to the Manchu Court or to have had first-hand information of what took place there. However this may be, it will be admitted that a novelist cannot expect to be treated as an historian until his alleged facts have been tested and found true by reference to other sources.

Do such sources exist in this case? The question is answered in a rather hesitating affirmative by the authors of that remarkable work *Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking*, in the ninth chapter of which will be found the following remarks. "There appears to be good reason for doubting the dynastic annals in the matter of his (the emperor's) death, and for sharing the belief, widely held by Chinese scholars, that the young emperor, pining for his lost mistress, and weary of the dull routine of statecraft, voluntarily handed over the government to four of his Ministers (acting as joint Regents for his youthful son, K'ang-hsi) and retired to the contemplative life of the priesthood."

Messrs. Backhouse and Bland are far too scrupulous in their treatment of their material, and far too scholarly, to commit themselves to a definite acceptance of the accuracy of this curious story, and they give us a clear warning that many of the legends relating to the Manchu emperors, which now circulate widely among Chinese readers, are quite untrustworthy. Nevertheless the chapter from which I have quoted undoubtedly leaves the reader with the impression that the authors are inclined to accept that part of what I may call the



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Shun-chih legend which relates to the emperor's supposed retirement to a monastery.

Messrs. Backhouse and Bland make no reference, however, to the story that Tung Kuei-fei—the emperor's much-loved secondary consort—was a Chinese woman who had previously been the mistress of a Chinese gentleman. It is this part of the Shun-chih legend that I propose to examine first.

What we are told is that before Tung Kuei-fei entered the palace she had lived for some years with Mao Hsiang (冒襄),[1] a native of Ju-kao (如皋) in the province of Kiangsu. During the disturbances which preceded the firm establishment of the new dynasty, Manchu troops scoured the country in all directions, and in some unexplained way Mao Hsiang's fair concubine, whose name was Tung Hsiao-yüan (董小宛), fell into the hands of one of these conquering bands. Some rumours of the extraordinary physical and other attractions of this lady reached the ears of the Court officials, and the result was that Tung Hsiao-yüan was sent to the palace and very quickly became first favourite.

Both Mao Hsiang and Tung Hsiao-yüan are well known by name to students of Chinese seventeenth-century literature. Tung Hsiao-yüan, also known as Pai (白) and as Ch'ing-lien (青蓮), was a Chinese courtesan of the Kiangsu province. She belonged to a class that may fitly be compared with the Hetairai of ancient Greece after the Peloponnesian war. Her accomplishments were most varied, for we find her praised for her needlework, her cookery, her music and her painting; and she was an adept at the tea-ceremonial. It is rather surprising to learn that she loved solitude and was never happier than when rambling in dark woods and by mountain-streams. After many vicissitudes she finally became the concubine of Mao Hsiang, and her beauty and talents made her famous in the literary and artistic circle of which he was a prominent member. She died in 1651, at the age of twenty-seven, and Mao Hsiang wrote a *Lament* (哀辭) and a biographical

(1) *Alias* 冒辟疆.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

sketch named *Ying-mei-an-i-yii* (影梅庵憶語) which are still extant. Both contain clear and unambiguous statements regarding her death, and in the *Lament* Mao Hsiang even tells us about the date and place fixed for her burial. Moreover, a number of his literary friends bewailed her death in poems and elegies which have survived to this day and which ought to leave no doubt in the mind of any reasonable man that it was death that deprived Mao Hsiang of his heart's beloved. Nevertheless those who wish to identify her with Tung Kuei-fei will have it that Mao Hsiang's own statements and those of some of his sympathetic friends contain veiled hints that the young woman did not really die when she is supposed to have died; that when Mao Hsiang spoke of his mistress as "dead" he merely meant that she was dead *to him*; and that the date upon which she is said to have died was really the date upon which she was carried away by the minions of a despotic Court. The evidence, such as it is, can be readily studied by anyone who reads Chinese, as it has been brought together in an annotated edition of Mao Hsiang's *Ying-mei-an-i-yii* which was published as recently as the third year of the Republic (1914).[1] To undertake a full examination of it in these pages would be to impose a heavy tax on my readers' patience, and I can only express the hope that those who are seriously interested in the subject will examine it for themselves.

One of the principal witnesses quoted is a writer known by his literary name of Mei-ts'un(梅村先生), but whose real name was Wu Wei-yeh (吳偉業). He was one of the numerous scholars and officials who went into retirement on the accession of the Manchu dynasty, but later on he took office under K'ang-hsi. He was a voluminous writer in prose and verse, and still finds readers. Among his poems is one entitled *Ch'ing-liang Shan Tsan Fo Shih* (清涼山讚佛詩), which is said to contain subtly-expressed references to Tang Kuei-fei and to the alleged retirement of the emperor Shun-

(1) The full title of this reprint is 影梅庵憶語, 附悼亡題詠考證 and the publishers are the 廣益書局 of Shanghai.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

chih; but the so-called references to the emperor (which are mixed up with allusions to other historical personages and events) are capable of very different interpretations; and even if there are allusions to Tung Kuei-fei (which is very possible) there is nothing to indicate that she and Tung Hsiao-yüan were the same person. It would be interesting, by the way, to know when this poem was written. The edition of Mei-ts'un's poetry which is in my own library contains a preface dated the tenth month of the *kêng-tsü* (庚子) year of Shun-chih, which corresponds to 1660. As the emperor Shun-chih was still on the throne in that year, this in itself might seem to be a proof that the poem referred to had nothing to do with any event occurring after the official date of the emperor's death. We cannot, however, lay stress on this point, for the preface was very probably written a considerable time before the poems were published and before the poem just referred to was written.[1]

In one or two other poems Mei-ts'un refers to Mao Hsiang's charming mistress, but this requires no explanation. Like Mao Hsiang's other literary friends, Mei-ts'un was probably well acquainted with the lady.

For my own part I have no hesitation in accepting as true Mao Hsiang's statement that his much-loved Hsiao-yüan died of consumption, or some similar disease, in the *hsin-mao* (辛卯) year (1651), and that she was still his mistress at the time of her death. This follows not only from a straightforward interpretation of Mao Hsiang's own account of their nine years' relationship and its mournful termination, but also accords with the memorial verses and elegies written by his

(1) In Mr. Cornaby's article it is stated that certain writings by Mei-ts'un were suppressed by Government; but if this is so the suppression does not seem to have been effectual, or the prohibition did not extend to the poems mentioned in the text. My own copy of Mei-ts'un's poetry was certainly published early in the Ch'ing period. I may add, however, that in the Ch'ien-lung reign the works of Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (錢謙益), who wrote the preface to Mei-ts'un's book, were suppressed by Government and the wood-blocks destroyed, on the ground that the works in question contained slanders.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

friends. It may be worth mentioning that the recently-published *Ming Tai Yi Wên* (明代軼聞) contains, at the beginning of the fourth *chüan*, a life of Tung Hsiao-yüan in which there is no suggestion that she ever became an imperial concubine. The account of her given in the tenth *chüan* of the corresponding compilation entitled *Ch'ing Tai Yi Wên* (清代軼聞) also refrains from making any such suggestion; and the same may be said of the very short biographical notice which occurs in that admirable encyclopædic dictionary, published a few years ago, entitled *Tz'ŭ Yüan* (辭源). Finally, I may mention the fact that there are direct descendants of Mao Hsiang still living, and that one of them—Mao Kuang-shêng (冒廣生)—emphatically repudiates the suggestion that his ancestor's famous mistress was ever carried away to the imperial palace. I have also been given to understand (by one of this gentleman's friends) that her tomb still exists at Ju-kao in Kiangsu, the ancestral home of the Mao family; but I am unable to say, from personal investigation, whether this statement is correct.

A rather important consideration seems to have been entirely overlooked by those who would identify Mao Hsiang's concubine with the lady who was loved by the emperor Shun-chih. In 1651, the year in which Mao Hsiang lost her, Tung Hsiao-yüan's age was twenty-seven. Tung Kuei-fei's death did not take place till the eighth month of the seventeenth year of Shun-chih—namely 1660.[1] Now if Tung Kuei-fei was Tung Hsiao-yüan, she must have reached the mature age of about thirty-six when she died. At this time the emperor was only twenty three, therefore her junior by about thirteen years. Does it seem probable that a woman so much older than himself, and one who had lived for years as the mistress of at least one other man, should have captivated the young

(1) Messrs. Backhouse and Bland, on page 235 of their work already quoted, state that Tung Kuei-fei died in the autumn of 1661, but this is a mistake. Her death took place in the *kêng-tzŭ* year, which corresponds to 1660. The emperor himself died (or must I say "the reign came to an end"?) early the following year.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

emperor's heart to such an extent as to cause him to give up his throne when she died and retire to a monastery? It would be rash to assert that such a thing is psychologically impossible, but we may reasonably demand first-rate evidence before we accept it as true.

Another important consideration is this. If the legend is true, what was Tung Hsiao-yüan doing between 1651 (when she left Mao Hsiang) and 1656, which is the year in which Tung Kuei-fei entered the palace? By 1656, Tung Hsiao-yüan, if she was still alive, must have been thirty-two years of age. With whom did she live, or how did she employ her time, between the ages of twenty-seven and thirty-two? No supporter of the Shun-chih legend seems to have answered this rather obvious question, or even to have propounded it. In any case, is it likely that those entrusted with the duty of finding consorts for the young emperor (who in 1656 was only a boy of eighteen) would select for him a Chinese lady (this in itself a breach of Manchu house-law) who was not only in the "thirties" but was known to have lived a life which, to say the least, had been already chequered by divers quasi-matrimonial experiences?

Let us now leave Mao Hsiang's fascinating mistress and turn our attention to the lady whose separate personality the believers in the strange legend we are examining seem desirous of annihilating.

None of these persons, so far as I am aware, have thought it worth while to state the fact (if indeed they know it) that an official "Life" of Tung Kuei-fei is in existence, besides a laudatory account of the lady written by her imperial lover himself. The "life"—*Hsiao Hsien Huang Hou Chuan* (孝獻皇后傳) was written by Grand Secretary Chin Chih-chün (金之俊). It is only fair to state that the book is probably very little known even to the Chinese reading public, much less to foreigners. It forms the fifth *chüan* of the 金文通息齋集詩文, and has recently (1917) been published separately, along with the emperor's own memorial notice (行狀), under the editorship of Wu Ch'ang-shou



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

(吳昌綬). There is no valid reason known to me for doubting the accuracy of the statements made in these two interesting documents. From them we learn that Tung Kuei-fei was the daughter of a Manchu, a high officer of the Imperial Household (內大臣) named Tung Ê-shuo (董鄂碩). She was brought into the palace in 1656 at the age of eighteen, and immediately became a great favourite of the empress-dowager. In the ninth month of the same year she was raised to the position of *huang-kuei-fei* (皇貴妃)—Imperial Concubine of the first rank. She gave birth to a son in the winter of 1657, but this son, Prince Jung (榮親王), died in infancy. Tung Kuei-fei's father, and also a brother, were alive when she entered the palace, but both predeceased her. She herself died on the nineteenth day of the eighth month of the *kêng-tzŭ* (庚子) year, corresponding to the autumn of 1660, in her twenty-third year. She was raised to the posthumous rank of Empress under the elaborate title of Hsiao Hsien Chuang Ho Chih Tê Hsüan Jên Wên Hui Tuan Ching Huang Hou (孝獻莊和至德宣仁溫惠端敬皇后). It may be added that her father had been ennobled during his lifetime as Earl (伯), and after his death was promoted to the dignity of Marquis (侯). He also received the posthumous title of Kang-I (剛毅).

It would be pleasant to give some account of the emperor's touching narrative; to dwell, for instance, on the naïve description of how his majesty personally converted Tung Kuei-fei from a state of irreligion to a fervent faith in Buddha. All that can be said here is that Tung Kuei-fei seems to have been as good as she was beautiful, and well worthy of an emperor's love. Her brave attempt to conceal her own grief and to console the emperor when their infant son died; her chivalrous intercession for the empress, who had incurred the imperial displeasure for a grave breach of etiquette; her untiring and unselfish activity on behalf of those who were her inferiors in rank and from whom she could expect nothing in return: all these things go far to explain why she was loved not only by the emperor but



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

also by his mother and by all the ladies and handmaidens of the Court.

That the emperor was sincerely fond of Tung Kuei-fei is an accepted tradition in the imperial family to this day; and it is also admitted that he never recovered from the shock of her death. Shun-chih was religious and studious by nature, and these characteristics were probably intensified by the fragility of his constitution. It seems likely that he was consumptive; at any rate the records do not lead one to suppose that his death was very sudden. It took place at the beginning of the second month of the year *hsin-ch'ou* (辛丑), which corresponds to the spring of 1661. His age was about the same as that of his beloved Tung Kuei-fei, and he survived her by less than half a year.

So say the official records, and I know of no sound reason for suspecting falsifications. But let us now look into that part of the Shun-chih legend which concerns his alleged retirement to a monastery.

To begin with, we must surely admit the inherent improbability of the story of the pretended death and the mock funeral. That a gentle-natured and spiritually-minded monarch should weary of statecraft and long for the tranquil life of the monkhood is not very strange. Some of us, perhaps, may rather marvel that the majority of kings cling to their thrones as long as they do. What is truly remarkable in this particular case is that the emperor and his advisers should have adopted the crazy, perilous and quite unnecessary course of action which the legend ascribes to them. We can readily understand that the statesmen who stood in the emperor's council-chamber would greet with blank dismay his proposal to abdicate, and would do their best to dissuade him from such a course. But if they found that his resolution was unalterable there were no overwhelmingly strong reasons, from the point of view of state-policy, why they should not have agreed to his formal and public renunciation of the throne in his son's favour. Certainly there was no need or justification for running the serious risks involved in making a false announce-



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

ment of the emperor's death and escorting an empty coffin to the imperial mausoleum. The number of people who would have to be entrusted with the secret would necessarily be very large, and it would be impossible to guarantee that the facts would never leak out. There could be no certainty that the emperor would not, in later years, regret the step he had hastily taken at a time when he was distracted with grief; and what would happen if he suddenly decided to come to life again and return to his throne? He could always point out that he had never abdicated, and might put all the responsibility for the mock funeral on his unhappy ministers, who would then have to seek in suicide release from an impossible situation. Even if he never left his monastery he might, knowingly or otherwise, become a centre of political intrigue. Perhaps a more serious consideration than any of these, from the point of view of Chinese ethics and religion, would be the fact that the little emperor K'ang-hsi would be required to inaugurate his reign by committing acts which might well involve himself and the dynasty in utter ruin; for he would have to perform mourning rites for a father who was still living, and prostrate himself with simulated lamentations before an empty tomb. Who could say what terrible punishments Heaven might have in store for blasphemies such as this?

But passing over the inherent improbabilities involved in the theory of the false announcement of the emperor's death, let us go a step further and consider what actual evidence there is for the belief that he retired to a Buddhist monastery.

The first question is, To what monastery is he supposed to have retired? At once we are confronted by a very suspicious circumstance. Those who defend the legend we are discussing cannot agree among themselves as to whether the monastery in question was the T'ien-t'ai-ssŭ, near Peking, or a hermitage on the famous mountain of Wu-t'ai in Shansi. The most circumstantial story, however, is that which relates to Wu-t'ai, and as it seems to deserve careful scrutiny we will examine it first. It will be found in a little book which purports to contain records, hitherto kept secret, of certain



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

journeys made by the emperor K'ang-hsi through various parts of the empire. It is entitled *K'ang-hsi Nan Hsün Pi Chi* (康熙南巡祕紀), and was published by the *Chin-pu Shu-chü* (進步書局) in Shanghai. The first narrative which the book contains is called "The Strange Monk of Wu-t'ai" (五臺異僧). It begins with a reference to what it describes as a famous monastery on the Wu-t'ai mountain named Ch'ing-liang Ssŭ (清涼寺). At the close of the reign of Shun-chih the abbot was a venerable white-haired monk of eighty years of age named Yüan-chih (圓智)—"Accomplished Wisdom"—who spent his days in deep and silent meditation. When the emperor's death was announced (early in 1661), the Governor of the province of Shansi, in which Wu-t'ai is situated, sent official instructions to the Wu-t'ai monks to carry out the religious ceremonies appropriate to the solemn occasion of his majesty's demise. While these ceremonies were in progress at the Ch'ing-liang Ssŭ, a richly-dressed young man suddenly pushed open the door and stood before the officiating monks. Much astonished, the abbot Yüan-chih asked the young man where he had come from. "I have come from Peking, reverend sir," was the reply, "expressly to pay my respects to you." The young man seemed to be over twenty years of age; he was of very distinguished appearance and bore himself with exceptional grace and dignity, like a leader of men. When asked his name, he smiled but said nothing. Yüan-chih, recognizing that there was something unusual about his visitor, invited him into a private room. There he again questioned him, but his guest was clearly unwilling to reveal his secret. "I beg you not to press me for details," said the mysterious young man; "I have come here for one thing only—to enrol myself as your disciple. If you agree, accept me as such; if not, I will go elsewhere." In answer to the further enquiries of Yüan-chih he made this surprising remark: "I have thrown away the empire like a worn-out sandal." At this Yüan-chih was startled and at his wits' end. His guest repeated his assertion that if the abbot refused to accept him he would go elsewhere. The abbot then questioned him regarding his religious knowledge and attainments and warned



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

him that it was no easy thing to tread the path of the bodhi sattvas. Was the young man really prepared to give up the world and all its attractions and devote himself to a life of abstinence and purity? The youth replied that his mind was quite made up, and invited the abbot to test his knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures. This Yüan-chih proceeded to do, with the result that his guest passed a highly successful examination in the tenets of the Faith. After this the abbot raised no further objections to the youth's wishes, and consented to ordain him as a member of the monkhood. At his ordination the religious name conferred upon him was Hui-chên (慧眞)—"Wisdom and Truth." He retired to a hermitage connected with the monastery, and there, for the rest of his life, he remained in seclusion. The austerity of his mode of life aroused some jealousy among the other monks, but the venerable Yüan-chih reproved them, and prophesied that some day "a holy man" (聖人) would come in search of the strange monk. This remark impressed the jealous monks, who then began to realise that the new-comer was no ordinary person. A year or so later, the old abbot passed away, after having strictly charged his disciples always to treat Hui-chên with kindness and courtesy. Hui-chên continued to live his solitary life, devoting himself to study and meditation. He was recognized as deeply read in both Buddhist and Confucian literature, but he showed no interest in ordinary topics of the day and refrained from all social intercourse with his brother-monks. One day, however, someone happened to mention in his presence that warfare had broken out in the provinces. Hui-chên suddenly looked as though he were awaking from a trance, and said, "Ah! (Wu) San-kuei has rebelled" (噫三桂反耶). This was the first time he had been known to address a remark to his companions since he entered the monastery. But from this time onward, until the rebellion was quelled, he asked questions about the progress of the fighting, showing that this was a subject in which he was interested.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

One day a summons came to the abbot—the successor of Yüan-chih—from the Governor of Shansi. The whole monastery was greatly excited, not knowing whether this unusual occurrence foreshadowed weal or woe to the monastic community. Five days later the abbot returned, with the news that great good fortune was about to befall their monastery (吾寺大福至矣). "The Governor has told me that his majesty the emperor venerates the Buddhist Faith, and at the behest of the empress-dowager is about to visit this mountain with her. I have seen the Imperial Edict, which requires us to prepare places of residence for their majesties." The monks were much elated at this news; and the abbot reminded them of the prophecy of Yüan-chih that some day a "holy man" would visit their monastery. [Every emperor is regarded as a "Sage" or "Holy" (聖人).] He hinted at the existence of some connexion between the imperial visit and the mysterious monk Hui-chên, who had always shown himself to be markedly different from ordinary men; indeed his hints prompted a young novice named Hui-an (慧安) "Wisdom and Peace," to exclaim suddenly, "Why, this Hui-chên must be no other than the Son of Heaven (天子) himself!" The abbot smiled.

The period before the emperor's arrival was spent in cleaning, decorating and restoring the monastery; while the roads over which the imperial procession was to pass were repaired by the local territorial officials. In due course his majesty arrived at the Ch'ing-liang monastery. The empress-dowager, however, was dissuaded from attempting the last and most arduous part of the journey from the capital, and awaited the emperor's return at one of the passes on the Shansi border. The emperor entered the monastery between rows of kneeling monks. His first action was to show his respect for religion by burning incense in front of the altar. He then turned to the abbot and said, "Are all the monks here?" The abbot intimated that such was the case. "But I have heard," said his majesty, "that there is a certain strange monk somewhere. Where is he?" "He lives," replied the abbot, "in a hermitage on a high summit. Pilgrims come



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

and go but never see him." The emperor pondered the matter for a time and then said, "I intend to visit him." "The mountain path is steep," said the abbot; "it is impossible to go there on horseback." "The strange monk," said the emperor, "is a modern Buddha; it is fitting that I should pay him a visit." He then bade his followers remain where they were and took only a young novice with him as guide. This novice was no other than the perspicacious Hui-an. They walked up to the hermitage together, and Hui-an entered to announce the arrival of the Son of Heaven. Hui-chên, with closed eyes, remained seated and took no notice. The emperor regarded him attentively for a long time, and seemed deeply moved. Suddenly he touched the monk's feet, and addressed him thus: "My imperial father! Your son and servant has been profoundly unhappy in that not till now has he been able to render filial devotion to your majesty." At these words the monk opened his eyes and said: "Who are you, sir? What are you saying? I am only a hermit and I did not understand you." The emperor's only reply was to cry, "Oh, my imperial father!" "Whom are you addressing as 'imperial father'?" asked the monk in an agitated tone; "the world and I have nothing to do with each other." The emperor went down on his knees and said entreatingly: "Your son and servant knows himself to be unworthy of your majesty's solicitude; but does not the memory of the empress-dowager and the empress touch your majesty's heart?" The monk showed signs of emotion, but only murmured, "The emperor is mistaken, the emperor is mistaken" (皇帝誤矣皇帝誤矣). Observing that Hui-chên's reticence and reserve were not to be overcome, the emperor remained for a long time kneeling, and gazed intently and wistfully at the face of his silent father. At last the young novice ventured to speak. "It is getting late," he said; "is it not time for your majesty to return?" At this the emperor rose, bade Hui-chên a courteous farewell, and left the hermitage. During the walk back to the monastery he warned the novice that what he had seen and heard was never to be revealed.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

That evening the emperor slept at the Ch'ing-liang monastery, and next day the imperial procession started on its return journey to the capital and was joined by the empress-dowager at the Lung-ch'uan Pass (龍泉關). After his return the emperor gave orders that 200,000 taels were to be sent to Wu-t'ai from the imperial Treasury. Of this sum, three quarters were to be presented to the Ch'ing-liang monastery and the remaining quarter to be distributed among the other temples of the mountain. The story closes with the remark that on subsequent journeys to Wu-t'ai the emperor always lodged at the Ch'ing-liang monastery and never omitted a visit to the "high summit" (高峯) where the monk Hui-chên lived in solitude. During his reign the emperor gave more than a million taels to Wu-t'ai; moreover he continued to take an interest in the novice Hui-an, who as he grew older came to be distinguished among his fellow-monks for his wisdom and intelligence. In recognition of his exceptional merits the emperor conferred upon him the high-sounding name of *Chih-hui Chêng-chiao Fo* (智慧正覺佛), "Perfected in the Spiritual Wisdom and True Enlightenment of Buddhahood."

Now most readers will probably admit that this narrative, quite apart from the question of its historical accuracy, is not without merit as a specimen of the story-teller's art. The sudden arrival of the brilliant young layman (who turns out to be the emperor himself, fleeing from throne to monastery) at the very time when the monks of the mountain-temple are celebrating a mass for him in consequence of his supposed demise, is an incident that might make the fortune of a skilful dramatist. Very noteworthy, too, are the simplicity and delicacy shown in the account of the meeting between the ex-emperor and his imperial son. But what are we to say about the story as a contribution to history? I have no hesitation in declaring my belief that it is entirely fictitious.

We have already commented on the extreme craziness of the scheme which is supposed to have been elaborated in the palace for the purpose of concealing from the world the fact of



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

the emperor's abdication and retirement, and we have found it difficult if not impossible to believe that sane men can have given such a scheme their approval. But assuming for the sake of argument that it was actually adopted, we might surely have expected that the emperor and his ministers would have made some slight effort to carry it out in such a way as to give it a reasonable chance of success. Yet if we are to believe the Wu-t'ai story they did nothing of the kind; on the contrary, they neglected the simplest and most obvious precautions. The emperor, it appears, wandered off to the wilds of the Shansi province (where he had never been before) without having made any preliminary arrangements or formed any definite plans as to how and where he was to live, threw himself on the hospitality of an old man whom he did not know and apparently had never seen before, and while refusing to answer the very reasonable questions put to him as to his name and antecedents, acted in such a way as to make himself an object of curiosity and a permanent centre of mystery.

It is scarcely credible that the emperor, after having resolved on a course of action which was intended to obliterate all traces of his continued existence, should have forthwith proceeded to "give himself away" in the manner which our story indicates. Why did he go out of his way to make that curious remark "I have thrown away the empire like a worn-out sandal"? These words of themselves were quite sufficient to betray the secret of his identity to anyone who had an intelligent understanding of Chinese classical literature. They are nothing more or less than a quotation from Mencius, who says that in certain circumstances the emperor Shun (舜) would have been willing *to abandon his kingdom as though it were an old sandal*, and seek refuge in the wilds, "where he would have lived for the rest of his life, contented and happy, forgetting that he had once ruled the empire."[1] If the abbot Yüan-chih had average education and

(1) 舜視棄天下猶棄敝蹝也…遵海濱而處, 終身訢然樂而忘天下. *Mencius*, Bk. vii, Pt. i, ch. 35.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

intelligence he cannot have failed to understand the allusion ; and indeed when our story-teller remarks that the abbot was "startled," he clearly means us to understand that the significance of the words was not lost on the old man.

Then what are we to think of the careless confidence with which the emperor K'ang-hsi entrusts a most important state-secret to the keeping of a boy—the novice Hui-an—who was a complete stranger to him? Among all the Court officials who must have accompanied K'ang-hsi on his pilgrimage to Wu-t'ai, was there not a single one who was worthy of the emperor's trust or shared his confidence? There must have been many persons connected with the palace who knew that Shun-chih was still alive ; was there not one who knew where he lived or could guide the emperor to his hermitage? If K'ang-hsi was anxious that no one should witness the interview between himself and his father, why did he allow the boy to accompany him into the hermitage when he might just as well have left him outside? Having allowed him to enter, what guarantee had the emperor that the boy would keep his mouth shut? As a matter of fact the story compels us to conclude that the novice was quite unworthy of his imperial master's confidence and of the honours subsequently conferred upon him, for as he was the only third person present when the interview between the two emperors took place, it can only have been through him that the details of the interview came to be known and finally to be embodied in a book!

I think we may justifiably suspect that Hui-an was invented simply in order to provide believers in the legend with an answer to those inconvenient questioners who might want to know how the facts of the secret meeting between K'ang-hsi and Shun-chih came to light. This suspicion is greatly strengthened when we learn that the annals of the mountain of Wu-t'ai contain no reference to anyone named Hui-an. Had he lived and died in obscurity as a simple monk, this would not surprise us ; but in view of the favours said to have been showered upon him by the emperor, the omission of his name from the list of distinguished monks is an



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

astonishing fact which supporters of the legend will find it difficult to explain.

But this is by no means the only difficulty that awaits them. Not only are the printed Annals of Wu-t'ai (of which I have three separate editions before me)[1] silent on the subject of Hui-an ; they are equally silent about the old abbot Yüan-chih and the imperial monk Hui-chên. The omission of Hui-chên's name might be explained, though without plausibility, on the theory that the government had forbidden the authorities of Wu-t'ai to include it in their records ; but no such theory will explain the lack of any reference to the eighty-year-old abbot, who is represented as having been the head of the monkish fraternity.

This is bad enough, but what are we to say when we find that even the name of the monastery (Ch'ing-liang Ssŭ) will not stand investigation? Ch'ing-liang (清涼) is an alternative name of the mountain itself; indeed it would not be incorrect to say that Wu-t'ai (五臺) is the popular name and Ch'ing-liang the official name of this sacred mountain. It seems not improbable that our author gave the name of Ch'ing-liang to the monastery of his story merely because he had to call it something, and thought (not having visited Wu-t'ai) that the alternative name Ch'ing-liang, of which he had heard, was probably the name of the mountain's principal religious house. As it happens, indeed, there is, or was, a small temple on Wu-t'ai called Ch'ing-liang Ssŭ (清涼寺), but it is quite insignificant and is situated several miles from the mountain's central sanctuaries. That this is not the temple referred to by our author is clear from the fact that he describes his abbot of Ch'ing-liang as one of the most important religious functionaries on the mountain and as the channel of communication between the high provincial officials and the Wu-t'ai monks ; and also from the fact that he makes his Ch'ing-liang monastery the place at which the emperor K'ang-hsi stayed during his visit to the mountain.

(1) i 清涼山志 in 10 *chüan*. ii 清涼山新志 in 10 *chüan*. iii 清涼山志 in 22 *chüan*.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

It is in his description of K'ang-hsi's visit that he blunders most badly. He seems to have assumed that his readers would not take the trouble to find out what the emperor's movements actually were on that occasion.

As a matter of historical fact, the emperor K'ang-hsi paid several visits to Wu-t'ai (as to many other sacred hills and famous temples) but it is only the first with which we need concern ourselves here. It took place in the early spring of the *kuei-hai* (癸亥) year, namely 1683, which was the twenty-second year of his reign. Full details of his visit have been preserved for us, not only by the monkish chroniclers of Wu-t'ai but also by Kao Shih-ch'i (高士奇), a distinguished Chinese scholar and author,[1] and by the Manchu Governor of Shansi, whose name was Mu-erh-sai (穆爾賽). From their detailed narratives we learn exactly how the emperor spent each day of his sojourn at Wu-t'ai. He did not merely come one day and go the next, as the writer of the *K'ang-hsi Nan Hsün Pi Chi* would have us believe; he arrived at the principal temple or lamasery on the first day, spent the second, third and fourth days in visiting the five summits of the mountain and all their principal shrines, and on the fifth day set out on his homeward journey. We are told the names of all the temples he visited, and the name Ch'ing-liang Ssŭ does not appear among them! The details are given so clearly that when I visited the mountain some years ago I used Kao Shih-ch'i's narrative as a guide-book, and found no difficulty in following the route taken by the emperor. His place of residence was the great central lamasery, the Chên-jung Yüan (眞容院), which is situated on the summit of a small hill known as the P'u-sa Ting (菩薩頂). This hill, which is in the midst of the Wu-t'ai range, is regarded as one of the holiest spots in Buddhist China, and the Chên-jung Yüan is its holy of holies. The temple is also known as the Ta Wên-shu Ssŭ (大文殊寺), because it is the centre of the cult of Wu-t'ai's patron saint, the Bodhisattva Mañju'srī or Wên-shu. It has a very long history, and it is

(1) See Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, No. 961.



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

still the resort of pilgrims from all parts of the Buddhist world, especially Mongolia and Tibet. It was in this lamasery that I had the privilege of meeting the Dalai Lama in 1908; and K'ang-hsi was only one of several emperors who have been its guests. Of the honours and money bestowed by K'ang-hsi on the monks of Wu-t'ai, by far the greater part went to the Chên-jung Yüan and its high lamas. The chief recipient of the imperial favour was an important ecclesiastic named A-Wang Lao-tsang (阿王老藏), who received from K'ang-hsi the honorific title of "The Venerable Man of Ch'ing-liang" (清涼老人). He was born in 1601 and died in 1687. In 1659 (when the emperor Shun-chih was still on the throne) he received the appointment of Controller of Chinese and Foreign Affairs at Wu-t'ai, and in this capacity he took precedence of all other monks and lamas. He resigned the post in 1671, on reaching the age of seventy, but he was still resident at the Chên-jung Yüan when K'ang-hsi visited the mountain, and he wrote a long poem, which is still extant, in honour of the imperial visit. Another distinguished member of the Wu-t'ai fraternity who might well have been taken into the imperial confidence if Shun-chih had really decided to embrace a hermit's life, was Lao-tsang Tan-pei (老藏丹貝), of whom Kao Shih-ch'i, already mentioned, has left an account. He, like "The Venerable Man of Ch'ing-liang," was a favourite at Court, and during his last illness, which took place during a visit to Peking in 1684, the emperor sent one of the Court physicians to attend him daily. He is one of our numerous authorities for the statement that the emperor K'ang-hsi, when at Wu-t'ai, resided at the P'u-sa Ting; and he also informs us that among other marks of favour his majesty caused the great central hall of the lamasery to be covered with glazed tiles of imperial yellow.

There is nothing whatever, in any trustworthy account of the history and traditions of Wu-t'ai, or in any trustworthy



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

narrative of the emperor K'ang-hsi's visits to that sacred mountain, which gives us the least hint that the emperor Shun-chih ever went into retirement there, or that K'ang-hsi's purpose in making pilgrimages there was to visit an imperial hermit.

*[To be concluded.]*



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

# A POET OF THE 2nd CENT. B.C.

PROFESSOR H. A. GILES, LL.D.

---

Students of Chinese who think at all about the poet 枚乘, Mei Shêng, usually have in mind the well-known tag 枚乘以前無五言, "before Mei Shêng there was no 5-word (to-the-line verse)," which perhaps must not be taken too literally. His poems were for centuries lost sight of in a collection known as 古詩十九首, "Nineteen Pieces of Old Poetry," seventeen of which have been translated by Mr. Waley in his "170 Chinese Poems," where he notes that "some have been attributed to Mei Shêng," whom, by the way, he places in the "first century B.C." The latest researches have shown that nine of the above are from the hand of Mei Shêng; and that to be understood, hey must be read in a certain order, in connexion with the political events of the period. As my renderings differ considerably from Mr. Waley's, I now print them for purposes of comparison.

In the year 155, the great Han dynasty had been established for some sixty years only. The Princes—feudal, almost mediatized Princes—of the various States were constantly occupied either with quarrels among themselves or with treachery to the Throne; and a leading statesman of the day recommended the then young Emperor to get rid of



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

them altogether; in fact "Sack the lot!" Within ten days, seven of the States had raised the standard of revolt; and Ch'ao Ts'o, the unlucky originator of the plan, was beheaded forthwith.

At that time, Mei Shêng was secretary to Prince 濞, P'i, of the 吳 Wu State; and when revolt was mooted, he found himself torn by his loyalty to the Han dynasty in one direction, and by his affection for his master in another Loyalty to the sovereign, which had been strenuously inculcated by Confucius and which has always been a striking feature in Chinese history, prevailed; and Mei Shêng laid himself out to prevent what perhaps he foresaw would be a disastrous undertaking. He failed and fled incontinently to the 梁 Liang State. The death of Ch'ao Ts'o relieved the situation, but the Prince of Wu still refused to disband his soldiers, and his destruction followed. On Mei Shêng's return, he was employed by the Emperor Ching Ti, until, becoming unpopular with his subordinates, he pleaded illness and retired. His beautiful poetry attracted much attention; and in B.C. 140, the Emperor Wu Ti, on his accession, sent **安車蒲輪**, a comfortable carriage with muffled wheels, to bring him to Court; but the poet died on the way.

I

西北有高樓　上與浮雲齊
交疏結綺窗　阿閣三重階
上有絃歌聲　音響一何悲
誰能爲此曲　無乃杞梁妻
清商隨風發　中曲正徘徊
一彈再三歎　慷慨有餘哀
不惜歌者苦　但傷知音稀
願爲雙鴻鵠　奮翅起高飛



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

*Written in the Wu State, advising the Prince against rebellion.*

In the north-west[1] there is a tall storeyed mansion,
The top of which is level with the floating clouds;
Its windows are curtained with spangled silk gauze;
It has four columns[2] and three flights of steps.[3]

From above come sounds of a stringed instrument and singing,
In tones which vibrate—oh, how sadly!
Who is able to produce this song?
Surely 'tis the wife of Ch'i Liang.[4]

A clear *shang*[5] is borne along on the breeze;
In the middle of the song there is a feeling of hesitation;
At each stroke, two or three sighs;
The key is mournful in its overflow of woe.

I do not begrudge bitterness to the singer,
But I grieve that those who understand are so few.[6]
Would that I were like a pair of herons,
To flap my wings and rise for a lofty flight.[7]

MR. WALEY (*op. cit.* pp. 41, 42) TRANSLATES:

Line 3. Embroidered curtains thinly screen its windows,
" 4. Its storied (*sic*) tower is built on three steps.
" 9. The tranquil "D" follows the wind's rising.
" 12. Her high will conquered by overwhelming grief.

1. The 乾位, or sovereign position.
2. 阿=column. 有四阿重之阿閣.
3. Obviously the palace of the Prince.
4. The story of this hero, who refused (B.C. 550) a bribe to betray his master, and of his heroic wife, will be found in vol. v, pp. 503, 504 of Legge's Chinese Classics. Ch'i Liang was taken prisoner and put to death.
5. The second note of the Chinese quintole.
6. Few foresee the impending ruin of the State.
7. That I might achieve something for my country and save the situation.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Line 13. She does not regret that she is left so sad,
„ 14. But minds that so few can understand her song.
„ 15. She wants to become those two wild geese
„ 16. That with beating wings rise high aloft.

["Storied" in line 4 must be kept for a different meaning: "Can storied urn or animated bust . . . ?"]

II

東城高且長　逶迤自相屬
迴風動地起　秋草萋已綠
四時更變化　歲暮一何速
晨風懷古心　蟋蟀傷局促
蕩滌放情志　何爲自結束
燕趙多佳人　美者顏如玉
被服羅裳衣　當戶理清曲
音響一何悲　絃急知柱促
馳情整巾帶　沈吟聊躑躅
思爲雙飛燕　銜泥巢君屋

*A lament over the political outlook in the Wu State.*

The Eastern City[1] is lofty and long,
Winding about in an unbroken line;
A whirling wind sweeps over the ground;
The thick vegetation of autumn is already dark-green.[2]

The four seasons change and bring about their changes;
The close of the year comes—oh, how quickly!
The falcon nourishes its old (cruel) heart;
The cricket bewails its hard circumstances.[3]

1. This seems to refer to 定遠, Ting-yüan, in modern Anhui. "Lofty" means built on an eminence; "long" refers to the city wall.
2. The green of spring would be 青.
3. On the approach of winter. Cruelty and hard fate are always with us.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Cleansed, let us now give rein to our desires;
Why remain in bonds of our own making?[1]
In the States of Yen and Chao there are many lovely
women—
Beauties with complexions like jade.

They dress themselves in robes of silk,
And at their doors sing clear-ringing songs
In tones which vibrate—oh, how sadly!
The shrill pitch of the strings showing that the nuts have
been tightened.

Having relieved their feelings, they arrange their
kerchiefs and girdles,
Crooning deep notes, now higher, now lower . . .[2]
Would that I were like a pair of flying swallows,
Bringing mud for my nest on the Prince's house.

MR. WALEY (pp. 44, 45) TRANSLATES:

Line 1. The Eastern Castle stands tall and high;
„ 2. Far and wide stretch the towers that guard it.
„ 7. The Bird of the Morning Wind is stricken
with sorrow;
„ 8. The frail cicada suffers and is hard pressed.
„ 9. Free and clear, let us loosen the bonds of our
hearts.
„ 17. To ease their minds they arrange their shawls
and belts.
„ 18. Lowering their song, a little while they pause.

[In line 14, for 清曲 Mr. Waley has "tranquil lays." "Pure lays" might be considered.]

---

1. Suggesting escape from a country threatening rebellion against the Imperial House of Han.

2. Loyalty triumphs against temptations when the poet detects a note of sadness even in song of the Ladies of Yen and Chao, and he longs to contribute his modicum of mud to strengthen his sovereign's rule by his own attachment.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

III

行行重行行　與君生別離
相去萬餘里　各在天一涯
道路阻且長　會面安可知
胡馬依北風　越鳥巢南枝
相去日已遠　衣帶日已緩
浮雲蔽白日　游子不顧反
思君令人老　歲月忽已晚
棄捐勿復道　努力加餐飯

*Written after the poet's flight to the* 梁 *Liang State.*

Marching, marching, and anon marching, marching,
Separated in life from my Prince,
More than ten thousand *li* apart,
At opposite ends of the earth to one another.
The journey is arduous and long ;
When can we meet again ?
The Tartar horse is happy with the north wind ;
The Tonquin bird rests on a branch in the south.[1]

The day we parted is already far off ;
My clothes and girdle have become daily looser and looser ;
Floating clouds obscure the bright sun ;
The wanderer has no hope of return.

Longing for one's Prince makes a man grow old ;
In no time the year has already approached its close....
Have done with it ! Let no more be said,
But let us devote ourselves to the pleasure of feasting.[2]

1. Each is happy in its own native sphere. So the Chinese proverb: "Happy are a thousand days at home, while every hour abroad is hard."
2. All chance of return being hopeless.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

MR. WALEY (p. 39) TRANSLATES:

Line 7. The Tartar horse prefers the North wind,
„ 12. The wandering one has quite forgotten home.
„ 14. The months and years swiftly draw to their close.
„ 15. I'll put you out of my mind and forget for ever
„ 16. And try with all my might to eat, and thrive.

[Referring to the last couplet, Mr. Waley says, the popular, but erroneous, interpretation of these two lines is:

"That I am cast away and rejected I will not repine,
"But only hope with all my heart you're well."

Mr. Waley does not tell us who was guilty of extracting this meaning from the ten Chinese characters which are literally

Cast reject not (=don't) again speak.
Exert strength add eat rice (=food).

IV

涉江采芙蓉
蘭澤多芳草
采之欲遺誰
所思在遠道
還顧望舊鄉
長路漫浩浩
同心而離居
憂傷以終老

*In the Liang State.*

I cross the River [1] and pluck hibiscus-flowers;
Orchids,[2] and many fragrant plants;
When I have plucked them, to whom shall I give them?
The one I long for is far away.[3]

1. The Yang-tsze, which the poet had to cross to get into the Liang State.

2. 蘭草生澤畔婦人和油澤頭故云蘭澤. Orchids grow alongside of marshes, and women mix them with oil and anoint their heads; hence, the name *lan tsé*. [*From the* 本草拾遺].

3. His Prince.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

I turn and look eagerly towards my old home,
But the long road stretches to an endless length.
My heart is with you,[4] though our bodies are apart;
Bitter sorrow will be mine to the end of life.

MR. WALEY (p. 42) TRANSLATES:

Line 2. In the orchid-swamps are many fragrant herbs.
" 7. The same heart, yet a different dwelling:
" 8. Always fretting till we are grown old.

V

青青河畔草
鬱鬱園中柳
盈盈樓上女
皎皎當窗牖
娥娥紅粉妝
纖纖出素手
昔爲倡家女
今爲蕩子婦
蕩子行不歸
空房獨難守

*In the Liang State.*

Green grows the grass on the river-bank,
Luxuriant the foliage of the willows in the garden;
A lovely girl in the upper storey,
A vision of beauty at the window.
Fair is her pink-powdered face,
And slender the white hand which she shows;
Formerly she was among a troupe of singing-girls,
And now she is the wife of a *roué*.
But as he has gone off and does not come back,
It will be difficult for her to live alone in her empty home.

4. This does not mean, as might be gathered from the text, that their political views were identical, but only that the poet's affection for his sovereign was unchanged.

1. This poem is understood to suggest figuratively the life of the poet in Liang, away from his Prince to whom he is always hoping to return. The fate of the singing-girl, never legitimately married, is supposed to be typical of his own failure in life; the disappearance of the *roué* is his own disappearance from his native State; and the last line is said to refer to his possible recovery of his Prince's favour.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

MR. WALEY (p. 40) TRANSLATES :

Line 3. Sad, sad, the lady in the tower.
" 4. White, white, sitting at the casement window.
" 5. Fair, fair, her red-powdered face.
" 8. Now she is a wandering man's wife.

## VI

蘭若生春陽
涉冬猶盛滋
願言追昔愛
情款感四時
美人在雲端
天路隔無期
夜光照元陰
長歎念所思
誰謂我無憂
積念發狂癡

*Written in Liang, on hearing of the rebellion of the Prince of Wu.*

The orchid comes forth in the tenth moon,
And at the end of winter is still in full bloom ;
If I would speak in remembrance of my old affection,
My feelings would be influenced by all the four seasons.[1]
The beautiful girl[2] is on the extremity of the clouds,
And the celestial road cuts her off without hope ;
The glamour of the night lightens the primeval darkness,
As she heaves long sighs, thinking of her lover....
Who can say that I have no sorrows ?
My thoughts upon thoughts are ending in wild madness.[3]

1. The poet would have to recall the period when his advice was rejected and he fell into disfavour; as to flowers, one only thinks of their season of bloom.

2. The Weaving Damsel (*a Lyrae*) who is separated by the Milky Way from the Herd-boy (*βγ Aquilae*), her lover, except on the evening of the 7th of the 7th moon, when magpies form a bridge for her to cross over. See No. VIII.

3. This poem was excluded from the 文選, *Wen hsüan* (6th cent.) although its genuineness as the work of Mei Shêng had been established 陸機, Lu Chi (A.D. 261–303). Mr. Waley omits it from his "170 Chinese Poems" (p. 39) because of its "marked inferiority."



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

VII

庭中有奇樹
綠葉發華滋
攀條折其榮
將以遺所思
馨香盈懷袖
路遠莫致之
此物何足貴
但感別經時

*Written, like the last, in Liang*[1].

In the courtyard there is a wonderful tree,
With dark-green leaves, which produces flowers in abundance;
I draw down a branch and pluck of its glory,
Meaning to send it to the object of my thoughts.[2]
The delicious perfume fills my vest and sleeves,
But the way is long and I have no means of forwarding it;
The thing itself—of what value is it?
Yet enough to stir emotion for the time elapsed since we parted.[3]

MR. WALEY (p. 43) TRANSLATES:

Line 2. Its green leaves ooze with a fragrant moisture.

VIII

迢迢牽牛星
皎皎河漢女
纖纖摺素手
札札弄機杼
終日不成章
泣涕零如雨
河漢清且淺
相去復幾許
盈盈一水間
脈脈不得語

*Written in Liang, on hearing of the overthrow of the Wu State.*

Far away is the star of the Herd-boy,
And glittering is the Damsel of the Milky Way;[4]

1. While the rebellion is still going on.
2. *Q. d.* his Prince.
3. From this we gather that the poet had already been for some time in Liang. "His feelings," says a critic, "are overcharged to express, while the language is extraordinarily restrained." 情彌迫而詞彌緩.
4. See No. VI, note 2.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Slender is the white hand with which she throws the
shuttle,[1]
And rattle goes the loom as she works.
She will never accomplish her task ;[2]
Her tears drip down like rain.
The Milky Way[3] is clear and shallow ;
After all what a short distance apart they are ;
Separated by a beautiful piece of water,
They remain silent, unable to speak.[4]

MR. WALEY (p. 44) TRANSLATES :

Line 2. Brightly shines the Lady of the Han River.
" 4. Click, click go the wheels of her spinning-loom.
" 5. At the end of the day she has not finished her task.
" 7. The Han River runs shallow and clear ;
" 9. But the river water will not let them pass,
" 10. Gazing at each other but never able to speak..

IX

明月何皎皎
照我羅牀幃
憂愁不能寐
攬衣起徘徊
客行雖云樂
不如早旋歸
出戸獨彷徨
愁思當告誰
引領還入房
淚下沾裳衣

*Written while still in Liang.*

The bright moon, how radiantly it beams,
Shining on the gauze curtains[5] of my bed.

1. In order to make sense, "shuttle" has been taken from the next line.

2. This and the previous two lines are understood to refer to the poet's own efforts in the cause of peace.

3. Called the "Celestial River" by the Chinese.

4. Whereas No. V emphasized the distance between the poet and his Prince, this poem hints that though kept apart, the actual space between is bridged by their emotions.

5. A mosquito-net.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

For sorrow and anxiety I cannot sleep,
I seize my clothes, get up and pace to and fro.
Although the traveller talks about his joys,
Nothing is equal to an early return home.
I go out of the door and wander, alone, in uncertainty,
Thinking to whom I may tell my anxieties ;
Craning my neck[1] I go back again into the house,
And down flow my tears, soaking my clothes.[2]

MR. WALEY (p. 48) TRANSLATES :

Line 5. My absent love says that he is happy,
,, 6. But I would rather he said he was coming back.
,, 7. Staring before me I enter my room again ;
,, 8. Falling tears wet my mantle and robe.

1. These words may imply a state of expectancy, or merely mean moving forwards.

2. The poet is considering the question of his return to Wu.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

# CHINESE AND SUMERIAN

BY

REV. HUGH W. WHITE, D.D.

---

[The bracketed numbers refer to the Table at the end of the *article*.]

The chief living student of this subject is the Rev. C. J. Ball, Professor of Assyriology in Oxford University. Twenty years ago he came forward with the theory that the Chinese language was derived from the old Babylonian or Sumerian, formerly called Accadian. Later, he worked on the truer principle that the Chinese and Sumerian scripts were kin. Hopkins wrote a strong review of his work in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1914–15, correcting some of his slips and giving suggestions as to lines along which his research might be profitable.

Lacouperie and Edkins had both worked on this idea before Ball. The former presented it in a paper before the Society of Arts in 1880, and the latter's book, *China's Place in Philology*, is based largely on the kinship of China and Babylonia. These authors buttressed their linguistic arguments with comparisons of sociological and architectural conditions in the two countries.

Ball went more deeply into his subject than they did, but he could not keep his eyes off the will-o'-the-wisp that misled



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Edkins, the idea that phonetics could be depended on to work out the kinship between ancient languages. Thus, much of Ball's work leads into bottomless morasses of guesswork as to what were the phonetic values of the ancient symbols, and how beautifully they proved—accepting, of course, his guesswork as a basis—that a Chinese "tap" or "tip" was the four-thousandth cousin twice removed of a Sumerian "tab" or "dib." Hence his book, on which he put so much time and effort, *Chinese and Sumerian*, does not come up to what we expected from his articles, published from time to time by the Society of Biblical Archæology.

On the written character also we see some flights of imagination. For example, Ball maintains (*Proceedings, S. B. A.*) that the Sumerian for "mouth" (1) is the same as the Chinese for "mouth" (2). How? Why, just strike off this, strike off that, and round up the corners; presto! there is your (2). He misses the self-evident fact that the Sumerian pictograph artist started with the whole face while the Chinese took merely the lips, a fact which differentiates the origin of the two. Ball's attempt to identify 金, "gold" with the Sumerian (3) must fail beside other views of that character. The Sumerian is from (4) "ku," bright, and (5) "gin," a reed, which Ball would identify with the Chinese 干, a rod. It might be possible to guess a few leaves on the rod, but how much simpler is the Chinese derivation from the phonetic 今 and the radical 土. Chalfant's derivation from two fires under a cover, *i.e.*, the crucible, is also simple, and possibly preferable. (Frank H. Chalfant, *Early Chinese Writing.*)

Yet Ball undoubtedly proves his main proposition. Even Hopkins admits that twenty-one of the ideograms studied by Ball show similarity in their Sumerian and their Chinese forms. We may not lay too much stress on mere resemblance in pictograms. Yet it is suggestive that the Sumerian for a "well" is (7) (Ball's No. 11) while the old Chinese is (8), and "field" in both is (9). Even more suggestive is Ball's No. 14, "wine-cup," which in Sumerian is (10) while the Chinese has (11) (according to Hopkins). So, too, Ball's No.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

40, "knife" (12), links up easily with the Chinese (39), from the shape of the knives of ancient China, as seen in the knife coins.

The evidential value of these pictograms is, however, weakened, so far as the general proposition is concerned, by others which show unmistakable proofs of divergent origin. Thus when the Sumerian would express the idea "East," he thought of the wind on the mountains, and formed an ideogram expressing this idea, while the Chinese expressed it by a picture of the sun rising behind a tree, (14) from (15) and (24). The one ideogram arose near the heights of Eastern Mesopotamia, while the other came from the alluvial plains of China.

Ball, however, goes further than mere pictographic resemblance. He shows some ideograms in which the resemblance could not have been accidental. Thus the Chinese character 卜, to "divine," is not a pictogram. It must have a history behind it. Chalfant and Couling at once saw its origin in the markings on the tortoise shells used in the ancient method of divining. To suppose that two countries, working independently, could have evolved this identical symbol—for both Sumerian and Chinese have the old form (16) sometimes written (17)—is an impossibility. Ball's No. 22 gives a good lead to the origin of 文, "writings," hence "literature." The Sumerian form (18) from the clay tablets, looks quite like the old Chinese forms (19) and (20). If these can be identified, they explain a character which otherwise is difficult to understand. Ball's No. 15, "region" or "place," represented in both Sumerian and Chinese, as he claims, by the form (21) would be strong evidence, as this is another ideogram which must have a history behind it. But Hopkins does not accept this as a variant of the old Chinese. He gives only such forms as (22) and (23).

Ball goes yet a step further, and traces up relationship in the compound characters. For two peoples to have adopted similar pictures of familiar objects might have been mere accident, but when we can see identity of process in the



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

constructing of written forms, that clearly indicates community of thought. Ball traces this in the word "divination." The Chinese form 卜 (Giles' 877) is made up of 𠂆 and 口 and 卜 "one-mouth-divine." The Sumerian forms the same combination. Now take three other Chinese characters, "wood" (24), "not yet" (25), and "year" (26) (old form). These clearly have resemblance, yet we cannot conceive of any natural, unartificial relation between the ideas. One is a pictogram, and two represent abstract ideas. Chalfant has no suggestion on this subject. For "not yet," Chalfant's 387, he says, "significance not clear." For "year," his No. 129, he says, "obscure in origin." Now Ball calls our attention to the fact that the Sumerian has also these three ideas represented by ideograms (36), (37), (38), almost identical. Whatever the connection, it runs through both languages. Other chains of ideographic development suggested by him need further elucidation, and some sifting. From the above we see that Lacouperie, Edkins and Ball have all worked on a basis of fact.

I would suggest to students a yet broader proposition for investigation, viz., Are there traces in all the ancient scripts indicating an original kinship and common origin? Taylor classifies the hieroglyphs into five original, self-developed systems: Egyptian, Hittite, Babylonian, Chinese, and Aztec (*The Alphabet* by Canon Isaac Taylor). As to the Aztec, Professor A. H. Keane (*Encyc. Brit.* on "Indians"), William Dwight Whitney, and Max Müller, all held the view Taylor gives, that it was an original script. But little has yet been salvaged of this old writing except the ideograms for the months and numerals. (See, *e.g.*, *Report of the Smithsonian Institute*, 1903.) It is hardly practicable yet to trace up its kinships. But Denison, of Chicago, went into a prolonged investigation of the subject, thinking he was working on an original script, and came to the conclusion that it was derived from the Aryan! (*Primitive Aryans of America*, by T. S. Denison.) As for the Hittite, Sayce's valuable work towards the reconstruction of the Hittite script is thus far available



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

only in the files of the Society of Biblical Archæology. The world waits for a book from him on the subject. Other writers, such as Messerschmidt, William Wright, etc., have given considerable data on the general subject. A comparative study of the Hittite and the Chinese ought to be practicable, given time and the competent man. Who knows what of relationship may be found between these two ancient nations, both comparatively lacking as to beards, with tip-tilted toes and flowing robes?

In the Egyptian there are most suggestive points as to its kinship with the Chinese. Ball "slipped up" by not taking the Egyptian into consideration. Thus he traces the Chinese "sun" (15), to the Sumerian (27). The obvious differential of the dot or stroke in the middle is easily disposed of with a dash of imagination—"Oh, it got there somehow." He had not noticed that the Egyptian "sun" has a dot in it, thus showing the Chinese and Egyptian "suns" to be first cousins, while the Babylonian can only come in as a third or fourth cousin. We have seen above that Ball's identification of the Chinese for "mouth" (2), with the Babylonian will hardly stand. But the Egyptian scribe follows the idea of the Chinese, taking the lips for his pictogram, thus (28) (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th edition). So too the old Chinese pictogram for the eyes (29) (Shuo Wên) (目), fits with the Egyptian (30) (*Sixth Memoir* Egyptian Exploration Fund), rather than the Sumerian (31). The Chinese "mountain" also (32), is the Egyptian (33) (Egypt. Exp. Fd.) rather than the Sumerian (13). As to "field," we find all three, Chinese, Sumerian, Egyptian, using the identical ideogram (9). This striking fact should not be overlooked. That three great civilizations should choose this (9), mere pictogram though it be of level fields laid off for irrigation, seems to suggest community as to methods of farming and a common symbol to represent the idea. Note that the rounded form of (9) is a later modification, and the squaring of the character in modern times throws it back to its original form.

One of the composite characters, in which (9) is used, presents an interesting study. This is the character for



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

"myriad." Chalfant would consider it a pictogram of a frog or some animal. Some of the numerous old forms given in the "Shuo Wên" would seem to bear him out. The puzzle is largely due to the lower part of the character, which no one can explain. But the form as it has been written by ages of Chinese scribes is composed of "field" and "grass," a most appropriate combination certainly to represent the idea "myriad." Now it is striking that the Egyptian, according to a character given by Maspero (*The Dawn of Civilization*), symbolizes "myriad" in the same way in the form (41). If this apparent parallelism in process of construction can be proved, it is significant.

Another ideogram which must have a past is that for "records" (冊). The Chinese form (34), Chalfant's No. 247, and the Egyptian (35) are evidently the same. Can we doubt that they are kin?

The one subject that needs most careful study is the Six Methods of Forming Characters, so well known in Chinese literature. Ball claims to find traces of these methods in the Sumerian. Hopkins takes issue with him on several points, and there is a battle royal over the fifth method, the "pivotal" characters, if we take the traditional name of that class. No wonder, for the "pivots" on which these characters revolved are enigmatical, and there is much discussion among Chinese authorities themselves as to what this class is, and what was the method. On other points, such as Ball's study of the third method, the combining of two fully formed ideograms and their meanings to make "suggestive combinations," Hopkins does not assail him, and indeed encourages investigation.

As to methods of forming characters, it is most interesting to find that the Egyptian makes full use of the fourth method, that on which such a large proportion of Chinese characters are formed, phonetics having their signification distinguished by radicals. It was Professor Tychsen, of Rostock, (died, 1815), who first discovered that the Egyptian uses what

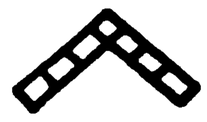


Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

(1)

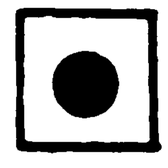
(2)

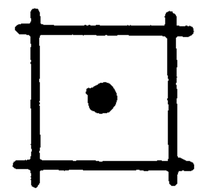
(3)

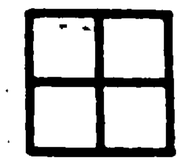
(4) 

(5)

(6)

(7) 

(8) 

(9) 

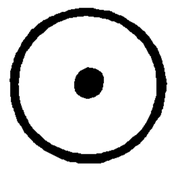
(10)

(11)

(12)

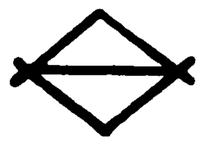
(13)

(14)

(15) 

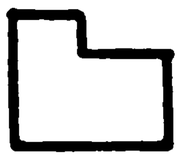
(16)

(17)

(18) 

(19)

(20)

(21) 

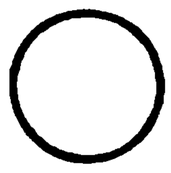
(22)

(23)

(24)

(25)

(26)

(27) 

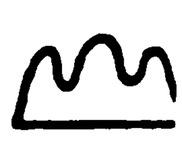
(28)

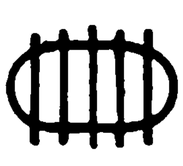
(29)

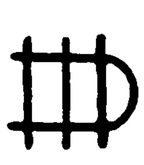
(30)

(31)

(32)

(33) 

(34) 

(35) 

(36)

(37)

(38)

(39)

(40)

(41)

Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Egyptologists prefer to call phonograms and determinatives, the principle being the same as in the Chinese. (*International Encyc.*)

As to the Six Methods, in private correspondence Sayce writes that "all developed systems of writing (Cuneiform, Egyptian, Hittite, &c.) [parenthesis his] exhibit the same methods of forming characters as Chinese, with the exception of No. 5 (pivotal)."

On this whole subject it would seem that competent and thorough study would certainly produce results worth while. Proof might be found adequate to establish a common origin for the original scripts. The intercourse of those ancient days may have been more intimate than we should have thought possible. Failing either of these inductions, we should at least find that mankind is so much of a unit that under different times and in widely different conditions, the progress of human thought and mental development work out along lines remarkably similar.



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

# LE GRAND PÉLERINAGE BOUDDHIQUE DE LANG-CHAN ET LES CINQ MONTAGNES DE TONG-TCHEOU

BY

HENRI DORÉ S.J.

(*Suite.*)

## CHAPITRE III

### La Montagne du Loup et son pélerinage au temps actuel.

Article I.—*But de cette étude.*

Dans le chapitre précédent nous avons fait connaissance avec les célebrités du passé et étudié les pagodes élevées sur la montagne du Loup depuis le VIIe siècle jusq'au XVIIIe siècle ; les génies et les bouddhas honorés au cours de ces onze siècles ont defilé devant nos yeux ; c'est une page d'histoire religieuse pour le *passé.* Il nous reste à décrire l'état *présent* de ce sanctuaire bouddhique et les divinités qui y sont vénérées de nos jours ; ici nous abordons l'histoire religieuse contemporaine. Plusieurs ont pensé, peut-être, que la république chinoise proclamée depuis cinq ans doit avoir aboli toutes ces superstitions puériles. Hélas ! s'il y a eu quelques changements plutôt de façade que de réalité dans les ports ouverts et dans les grands centres, les campagnes



Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

restent à peu près dans le *statu quo* et il faudra vraisemblement des siècles pour déraciner ces pernicieuses coutumes.

Le pélerinage de Lang-chan en particulier, loin d'avoir perdu de sa célébrité devient de plus en plus fréquenté ; on y accourt de tous le points du Kiangsou, c'est par milliers que les pélerins s'y pressent à certains jours.

En étudiant attentivement ce lieu de pélerinage nous aurons sûrement la note juste sur les pratiques religieuses actuelles, car ces grands pélerinages sont comme des manifestations spontanées des croyances religieuses.

C'est dans ce but que je veux conduire le lecteur pas à pas à travers tout ce dédale de pagodes, depuis la grande porte d'entrée au bas de la montagne jusqu'au temple qui domine son sommet. Ensemble, nous visiterons minutieusement chacun des temples, nous verrons une à une les statues des dieux qui reçoivent l'encens des pélerins, nous assisterons même aux cérémonies cultuelles des dévots ; cette visite expérimentale et scientifique est de nature à donner des idées précises sur la religion contemporaine des Chinois.

Les trois cartes ci-jointes partagent en trois sections l'ensemble des constructions élevées sur la montagne du Loup.

I Le plan A reproduit la première section au Sud-Est, vers la base de la montagne.

II Le plan B figure les pagodes bâties sur le flanc Sud, légèrement Sud-Ouest, depuis la base de la montagne jusqu'à son sommet.

III Le plan C comprend la tour et les temples bâtis sur le faite de la montagne.

Article II.—*Les monuments du Plan A.* (Vers la base Sud-Est.)

1° Une porte monumentale bâtie à l'angle S.E. à la base de la montagne donne accès au petit bourg bâti au fond de la gorge étroite, qui sépare la montagne du Loup de la montagne du Glaive.

Cette population est presque complètement composée de traiteurs, cabaretiers et marchands d'objets superstitieux ;



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

tout ce monde vit du pélerinage. A certaines époques les païens s'y rendent par milliers, mais en dehors de ces grandes affluences il y a toujours un courant ininterrompu de dévots ou de visiteurs ; peu de jours où il n'y en arrive au moins une centaine. Le commerce est donc assuré d'un bout de l'année à l'autre, surtout depuis l'achèvement de la route carossable qui relie la montagne à la ville de Tong-tcheou. L'inscription Chan men (山門), Porte de la Montagne, domine la porte d'entrée surmontée d'un étage. De chaque côté, derrière une balustrade, s'élèvent les deux statues de Heng Ha eul tsiang (哼哈二將), les deux maréchaux Heng et Ha, le Renifleur et le Souffleur, deux génies qui prirent part aux combats épiques livrés par Kiang-tse-ya (姜子牙) et Ou-wang (武王), (1122 av. J.C.), au dernier empereur des Chang (商) qui fut détrôné. Les hauts faits de ces génies sont racontés dans le Fong-chen-yen-i (封神演義). (Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. IX, p. 582.) Nous voici donc dès l'entrée en face de deux génies taoïstes constitués comme gardiens et sentinelles avancées du célèbre pélerinage bouddhique.

2° La pagode de Koan-kong (關公). Un petit sentier en zigzag, taillé sur le flanc du rocher, conduit à la pagode du dieu de la guerre, honoré officiellement encore sous la République chinoise.[1] Sur l'inscription au-dessus de la porte d'entrée on lit ces mots : Fou sing chan yuen (福星禪院) Monastère bouddhique de l'Étoile du bonheur. Deux rangées de chambres de chaque côté de la cour intérieure servent de maison d'habitation aux bonzes, Ce temple était jadis appelé, La grande pagode de Koan-kong. (Cf. chap. II, Art. 7.)

3° Les tombeaux. A l'Ouest de la pagode de Koan-Kong se trouvent les trois tombeaux du maréchal Kin Yng, de Lo Ping-wang, et d'un lettré du Fou-kien nommé Lieou Nan-lou (劉南廬).

A. L'épitaphe du tombeau du maréchal Kin,[2] le premier à l'Est, est ainsi conçue :

(1) *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VI, pp. 54-66; XIII (Dieux composites).

(2) Cf. chap. II, Art. 1, B, Sous les Song.



Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

"Année Ting-mao (1747), à la 4e lune, sous le règne de Kien-long. Tombe du maréchal Kin (de la dynastie) des Song. Restaurée par Lieou Ming-fang du Fou-kien (Min) et Ting Yeou-yu, habitant du pays."

De l'ancienne épitaphe en vers composée par Wen Tien-siang il ne reste plus trace.

B. Le tombeau de Lo Ping-wang est placé au centre, entre les deux autres. Sur la pierre tombale on lit les caractères suivants :

"A la IXe lune de l'année Ou-t'cheng (1748) (du règne) de Kien-long, (de la dynastie) des Ta-tsing, le préfet (de second ordre) Tong Kiuen-wen, gérant la préfecture indépendante (de second ordre) de Tong-tcheou. Tombe de Lo Ping-wang, (de la dynastie) des Tang. Restaurée par Lieou Ming-fang, de l'ancienne province Min (Fou-kien), et les notables du district Che Tchou et Siu Ling, qui ont fait graver cette pierre tombale."

Pour l'histoire de cette tombe cf. chap. II, Art. 1 (III, Les hôtes de passage ; A, Sous les Song.)

C. La tombe de Lieou Nan-lou. Ce monument est dans un état de délabrement qui touche à la ruine ; du reste il ne rappelle aucun souvenir historique important. L'épitaphe gravée sur pierre consiste en ces quelques mots :

(閩處士劉南廬墓) "Tombe de Lieou Nan-lou, lettré du Fou-kien." Devant les trois tombes un pai-fang ou arc de triomphe en pierre, à trois baies, forme l'entrée du cimetière. Les deux baies plus petites de l'Est et de l'Ouest sont fermées par un mur surmonté d'une grille en fer. La baie du milieu sert de porte d'entrée dans l'enclos mortuaire.

## Article III.—*Les pagodes inférieures du flanc meridional.*

Les monuments du plan B sont bâtis en étagère sur le versant Sud, S.O. de la montagne ; nous les diviserons en deux sections, la première moitié du versant fera le sujet de cet article.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Vers le milieu du petit bourg de Lang-chan s'ouvre le grand portail, qui donne accès à ces temples. Une série d'escaliers en pierre et de palliers, ménagés le long de la pente, relie les diverses constructions. Ces lacets courant en zigzags le long de la montée, permettent aux pélerins de visiter tous les temples tout en faisant l'ascension de la montagne.

PREMIÈRE MOITIÉ DU PLAN B.

1° Kin-kang-tien (金剛殿), le temple des quatre Maharadjas. Il est placé le premier en entrant, au Nord du grand mur d'honneur disposé en demi-cercle. Deux caractères forment le frontispice du portail : Lang-chan (狼山). Après avoir franchi cette porte d'entrée on pénétre dans le temple des Quatre grande rois, nommés par les Chinois Se ta kin kang (四大金剛), les quatre Maharadjas. On y voit quatre colosses foulant aux pieds des diablotins de bas étage ; ce sont les pendants hindous des Titans de la fable, escaladant le ciel pour détrôner Jupiter.

Voici leurs noms :

*a.* Mo-li-tsing (魔禮青), qui tient en main son sabre producteur du vent.

*b.* Mo-li-hong (魔禮紅) a pour caractéristique son parapluie. Il produit les pluies.

*c.* Mo-li-hai 魔禮海 accorde sa guitare.

*d.* Mo-li-cheou (魔禮壽) tient entortillé autour de son bras le serpent dragon hoa-hou-tiao 花狐貂.

Ces deux derniers distribuent dans un sage mesure les pluies et les vents.[1]

Au centre du temple, devant la porte d'entrée, sont logés les deux gardiens de la pagode, (a) Mi-lei-fou (彌勒佛) ou Maitreya, le bouddha futur, appelé aussi Siao-fou (笑佛), le bouddha rieur. Il a le ventre énorme et la figure épanouie.

(1) *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VII, pp. 226–33.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

(*b*) Wei-touo (韋馱), gardien armé du bouddhisme, ou le général Wei-touo.[1]

Une inscription verticale suspendue au sommet de la logette de Maitreya nous apprend que ce monastère Koang-kiao-chan-se (廣教禪寺) fut bâti par ordre impérial, la seconde année de Tsong-tchang (總章) (669 ap. J. C.) à la 2e lune, et fut récemment restauré à la 8e lune de la 4e année du règne de Hien-fong (1854) sous la dynastie des Ta-tsing, par les notables du Bureau d'entretien des pagodes.

Nous avons étudié cette question historique au chapitre II, (Art. V), nous n'y revenons plus ici.

2° Ta-pei-tien (大悲殿), le temple de la très compatissante (Koan-yng). Au sortir de la pagode des Maharadjas par la porte du Nord, on se trouve dans un grande cour intérieure entourée de temples. Sur main droite, à l'Est de la cour, c'est la pagode de la très compatissante Koan-yng.

(*a*) Le gardien est Wan-ling-koan (王靈官), génie taoiste, disciple de Lin-ling-sou (林靈素) au XIIe siècle. Comme dans plusieurs grandes pagodes, l'autel central est à double face. (*b*) Sur l'avers au centre, trône une Koan-yng avec mille mains.[2] (*c*) A sa gauche se tient Wei-touo. (*a*) A sa droite siège Koan-kong, le dieu de la guerre. (*e*) Sur l'avers de l'autel on trouve une seconde statue de Koan-yng, accompagnée de (*f*) Chan-tsai (善才), (*g*) Long-niu (龍女). Chan-tsai était un jeune bonzè que le Tou-ti-lao-yé (土地老爺) donna comme compagnon de Koan-yng à Hiang-chan (香山).[3] Long-niu était la fille du troisième fils de Long-wang, le roi-dragon ; elle demanda à son grand père la permission de se mettre sous la conduite de Koan-yng à Hiang-chan.

3° Luen-tsang tien (輪藏殿); le temple de la Roue de la Loi, ou de la Précieuse Loi, Pao-tsang tien (寶藏殿). Ce fameux temple, si connu dans tout le pays, se trouve à l'Ouest de la cour.

(1) *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, tom. VI, p. 78; VII, p. 206.
(2) *Ibid*, tom. VI, p. 149.
(3) *Ibid*, tom. VI, p. 117.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Le premier autel en entrant est dédié à (*a*) Ti-tsang-wang (地藏王), le roi des entrailles de la terre, et dont nous avons parlé déjà précédemment. A l'Ouest de cet autel un grillage en bois formant cloison, interdit l'entrée de la salle occidentale. La porte ménagée dans cette cloison est toujours fermée à clef; quiconque veut y pénétrer doit payer son droit d'entrée au bonze portier.

Au-dessus de cette entrée est suspendue une inscription en quatre caractères: Fa-luen tchang tchoan (法輪常轉), la roue de la loi tourne toujours. Voici l'aménagement de cette salle.

(*b*) La triade bouddhique siège sur l'autel du fond. (*c*) De chaque côté de la triade on voit une statue de Ti-tsang-wang, le roi moderne des enfers. (*a*) Enfin au centre de l'appartement est érigé l'appareil tournant qui figure la Roue de la Loi. Il se compose d'une solide pièce de bois verticale, sa partie supérieure pénètre dans une solive du plafond, et sa partie inférieure s'enfonce dans un socle en pierre, creusé en forme de gond. Les deux extrémités de cette poutre sont arrondis et tournent à jeu doux dans le socle et dans la solive. Un pagodin en bois de forme octogonale est adapté solidement, comme un large chapiteau, vers le sommet de cet essieu vertical.

Devant chacune des huit portes ménagées sur les flancs du pagodin, se tiennent huit génies à figure grimaçante et au geste provoquant; ce sont les (*e*) pa-fang-chen (八方神), esprits des huit directions, préposés aux huit points de la rose des vents. Le peuple les nomme pa tsiang (八強), les huit fiers à bras.

Ces esprits des huit directions ne sont autres que les génies des huit régions correspondant aux huit diagrammes chinois et aux huit divisions de notre rose des vents. Comme le pagodin en question est un octogone, on en place un devant chacune des portes ouvertes sur ses flancs. De fait il y a en tout neuf esprits, nommés les Nobles esprits des neufs palais, kieou-kong-koei-chen (九宮貴神). Celui qui doit occuper le centre n'ayant pas où se loger, on l'a omis. Cette invent-



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

ion remonte au· regne de Tang Hiuen-tsong (唐玄宗), 744 ap. J. C., et eut pour père le magicien Sou Kia-k'ing (蘇嘉慶), qui sollicita l'érection d'un autel dans les faubourgs de l'Est, en l'honneur de ces esprits, préposés à la pluie, aux vents, à la sécheresse et aux variations de la température. Pratiquement, ils remplacèrent le culte rendu aux cinq dominateurs Ou-ti (五帝), préposés aux quatre points cardinaux et au centre.

Pour faire tourner la lourde machine deux pièces de bois de dix pieds de longueur sont enfilées en croix dans deux mortaises de la poutre, quatre hommes saisissent les extrémités de cette croix, mettent le treuil en mouvement et font tourner le pagodin figurant la roue de la loi ou de la métempsycose.

D'après le système bouddhique les âmes roulent dans le cercle sans fin des renaissances. Après la mort, la roue de la métempsycose les rejette dans une vie nouvelle. Ceux qui n'ont pas d'enfants viennent tourner cette roue, dans l'espoir qu'elle déversera un héritier dans le sein maternel. Les bonzes ont fait croire à ces pauvres païens que le grincement produit est un signe que leur prière est exaucée. Aussi, avant d'entrer dans cette salle, ils offrent de l'encens à Bouddha, payent la somme convenue pour que le bonze ouvre la porte, puis se mettent à vigoureusement tourner la curieuse machine, jusqu'à ce qu'ils entendent les extrémités du montant grincer dans les gonds.

Tous les païens affirment qu'à certains moments on voit les yeux des huit génies remuer dans leur orbite, suivant qu'on foule aux pieds telle ou telle dalle de cet appartement ; alors même que la roue est au repos. Nous avons essayé de trouver le pavé sympathique, mais sans y réussir. Je croirais volontiers que, si ces racontars ont un fondement, les bonzes doivent avoir etabli à l'étage un système de ficelles, qui peut à volonté faire osciller les yeux de quelques statues, suspendus d'une certain façon dans l'orbite. J'ai étudié à loisir ce système de suspension, sur une statue de Lei-kong pou-sah, dans une vieille pagode de Taiping-fou au Ngan-hoei. Le globe de l'œil est suspendu à la manière des aiguilles aimantées dans



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

une boussole : il suffit de toucher le magot pour que les yeux remuent.

Toujours est-il que toutes ces industries sont fort lucratives ; la roue de la loi procure de jolis bénéfices aux malins bonzes. L'installation actuelle date de Tao-koang, 5e année de son règne, 1825.

4° Le grand temple de Çakyamouni. Au Nord de la cour, et orienté vers le Sud, domine le grand hall de Çakyamouni. Au frontispice on lit cette inscription : Ta-hiong-pao-tien (大雄寶殿), très beau et précieux temple, c'est-à-dire le *nec plus ultra* des temples, le 'clou' des constructions de la montagne. Nous l'avons décrit en détail au Ch. II, Art. 4. De nos jours il est dans le même état qu'au XVIIIe siècle.

5° De chaque côté de cette pagode monumentale, près des angles Sud-Est et Sud-Ouest, sont bâtis deux temples secondaires, qui forment comme les decors de sa façade.

*A*. Kia-lan-tien (伽藍殿), le temple de Kia-lan ou Kalanda, disciple de Çakyamouni.[1] Il est situé à l'angle S.E.

*B*. Tsou-che tien (祖師殿), le temple des Patriarches du bouddhisme chinois. Il est placé à l'angle S.-O. ; on y vénère (*a*) Ta-mo (達摩), Bodhidharma, le premier patriarche du bouddhisme chinois, arrivé de l'Inde en Chine sous Liang Ou-ti (梁武帝), 527 ap. J.C.[2] (*b*) Chen-koang (神光), le second patriarche. Bonze novice à Hiang-chan, il se rendit à Song-chan (嵩山), fut ordonné par Bodhidharma. On le nomme aussi Hoei-ko (慧可).[3] (*c*) Tche-kong (誌公), nommé encore Pao-tche chan-che (寶誌禪師) ; né en 424, mort en 514. Il fut le favori de Liang Ou-ti, qui lui décerna le titre de Kouo-che (國師), maître du royaume. Il se donnait comme un avatar de Pi-kia-na (毘伽那), disciple de Çakyamouni. Plusieurs sectes bouddhiques le compte pour le 3me patriarche du bouddhisme chinois,

(1) *Recherches*, III partie, Vie de Çakyamouni.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. VII, p. 246.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. VII, p. 252.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

bienque historiquement le troisième soit Seng-tsan (僧璨), mort en 606.[1]

Article IV.—*Les pagodes supérieures du flanc méridional.* (Seconde moitié du Plan B.)

1° San-yuen tien (三元殿), le temple des trois Principes. Il est nommé aussi Fan-hing-ngan (梵行菴). Les trois principes furent formés par Yuen-che-tien-tsuen (元始天尊), l'être "a se," qui après avoir aspiré les neuf effluves du Yang (陽), et les sept effluves du Yin (陰), les fit sortir comme un souffle de sa bouche. Ils se nomment (*a*) Shang-yuen, Tchong yuen et Hia-yuen. On les nomme aussi les trois Agents, ciel, terre, et eau.[2]

2° Tse-hang-ngan (慈航菴), la pagode de l'île de la Miséricorde. Dédiée à Koan-yng, on y voit quatre statues difiérentes de cette même divinité, et toutes quatre représentent Koan-yng la pourvoyeuse d'enfants.

Derrière cette pagode s'élève une sorte de kiosque ou de tour sans porte, que les bonzes nomment Kiosque du bol et de l'habit (鉢衣亭), pouo-i-ting.

3° Koan-ti tien (關帝殿), le temple du dieu de la guerre. Il est construit à l'Ouest du précédent. On y vénère (*a*) Koan-kong (關公), le Mars chinois ; (*b*) Tcheou-tsang (周倉), sorte de géant, chef de brigands, qui fit sa soumission à Koan-kong, passa dans les rangs de son armée et devint son protecteur dans les combats; (*c*) Koan-ping (關平) fils de Koan-ting (關定), et fils adoptif de Koan-kong.[3]

4° Yu-wang miao (禹王廟), la pagode de Yu-wang. Deux statues y reçoivent les honneurs divins: celles de (*a*) Yu-wang, l'empereur Yu, le canalisateur de la Chine et le fondateur de la dynastie des Hia (夏), 2205 av. J. C.; (*b*) Wen-tchang (文昌), le dieu de la littérature, très souvent nommé Tse-tong chen (梓潼神), esprit de Tse-tong, parce qu'il habita Tse-tong au Se-tchoan.

(1) *Recherches*, tom. VII, pp. 253–71.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. VI, pp. 16, 17.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. VI, pp. 29, 62, 63.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

5° Fa-tsiu ngan (法聚菴), la pagode de la Concorde doctrinale, ainsi nommée parce que trois divinités appartenant à trois religions s'y donnent réunion, San kiao wei i (三教爲一), dit l'adage chinois, Les trois religions n'en font qu'une. (*a*) Wen-tchang ; (*b*) Liu-tsou (呂祖), un des huit immortels du taoïsme ; (*c*) Tchang-sien (張仙), le pourchasseur du chien céleste, le donateur d'enfants, très vénéré dans les pagodes bouddhiques.[1]

6° Fou-hoei ngan (福慧菴), la pagode du Bonheur et de la Science. Elle est située au N. E. et un peu au-dessus de la pagode Tse-hang ngan ; on y honore la triade bouddhique.

7° Fou-sing ngan (福星菴), pagode de l'Etoile du bonheur ; non loin de la précédente, un peu à l'Ouest. C'est encore une pagode dédiée à Koan-kong.

8° Pei-i ngan (白衣菴), la pagode de l'Habit blanc, c'est-à-dire de Koan-yng, où se trouve une statue de cette déesse vêtue d'un manteau blanc.[2]

9° Chan-yao kuan-ko (山腰官閣), la Pavillon officielle à mi-côte. Il est partagé en trois sections.

*A.* Ta-cheng siège sur l'autel central. C'est le bonze Se-tcheou Ta-cheng, le souverain de la montagne du Loup.

*B.* Sur l'autel oriental sont les statues de (*a*) Wen-tchang, (*b*) Liu Tong-ping (呂洞賓), (*c*) Tchang-sien. Elles occupent la même place que dans la pagode de la Concorde doctrinale.

*C.* Sur l'autel occidental sont représentés les trois Agents, san koan (三官); (*a*) Tien-koan, (天官), l'agent du ciel, réincarné dans la personne dc Yao (堯); (*b*) Ti-koan, (地官), l'agent de la terre, réincarné dans la personne de Shun (舜); (*c*) Choei-koan, (水官), l'agent de l'eau, réincarné dans la personne de Yu (禹).[3]

(1) *Recherches*, tom. IX, pp. 499, 587.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. VI, p. 145.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. VI, p. 23; *Chen-sien-lie-tchoan:* chang kiuen, pp. 54–57.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

10° Le kiosque à mi-côte (半山亭), pan-chan ting. Bâti en face la ports du Pavillon officiel, il servait de parloir et de salon à thé, lors des réunions officielles. A notre époque il est englobé dans le pavillon officiel ; ce petit édicule sert de trône à Ta-cheng.

Ces dernières années les bonzes ont établi une école pour les novices des sept bonzeries de la montagne. Quelques pagodes jadis ouvertes au public ont été affectées à cet usage, et réunies par des murs de clôture. Par le fait, elles deviennent une habitation privée, et les pélerins ne sont plus autorisés à y entrer.

Cette mesure a été prise par peur des décrets de confiscation ; l'école n'est nullement ouverte par amour de la science, mais elle servira comme de paratonnerre contre les cupidités républicaines.

J'ai visité ces pagodes avant qu'elles fûssent devenues des locaux scolaires ; elles ne contenaient aucune divinité spéciale qui n'ait été mentionnée dans les articles précédents. Je me rappelle seulement y avoir vu les dieux du Ministère du Tonnerre : Lei-kong (雷公) l'esprit du tonnerre ; Tien-mou (電母), la mère des éclairs ; Fong-pé (風伯), l'Eole chinois, dieu du vent ; Yu-che (雨師), le maitre de la pluie.[1]

Sur les autels figuraient en outre quelques pou-sahs, vermine de l'Olympe, et les dieux des cinq directions, Ou-fang chen (五方神).[2]

Article V.—*Les temples du sommet.* (Première section du Plan C.)

Le plan C comprend les monuments du sommet ; il sera, lui aussi, divisé en deux moitiés qui feront le subjet de deux articles.

Après avoir montê un large escalier de pierre et traversé les palliers, où sont installés les marchands des biblots superstitieux, on arrive à une large esplanade, entourée d'une

(1) *Recherches*, tom. X, pp. 689–707.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. X, p. 750.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

balustrade en pierre. Cette vaste plate-forme carrée s'étend à l'avant de la pagode de Wang-ling-koan.

1° Wang-ling-koan tien (王靈官殿), le temple de Wang-ling-koan. La statue de ce génie est perchée au centre, sur une poutre. Sur les autels à sa gauche siègent (*a*) Tsoei chen (崔神), l'esprit qui hâte l'accouchement. Représenté tantôt sous la forme feminine de Ta-nai-fou-jen, tantôt sous figure masculine.[1]

(*b*) Kiang-chen (江神), l'esprit du Kiang. Pour cette charge transcendante il y a plusieurs titulaires : Ki-siang (奇相); Kiang-nan-pé, le comte du Sud du Kiang, Li-ping (李冰); Ou-tse-siu (吳子胥), ministre du royaume de Ou.[2]

Les trônes à la droite de Wang-ling-koan sont occupés par Wen-tsai chen (文財神) le dieu des richesses civil, et Ou-tsai chen (武財神), le dieu des richesses militaire. Ce duo est très en vogue à notre époque. Très souvent les deux personnages qui remplissent ce rôle sont Koan-kong et Tchao Kong-ming (趙孔明), des Trois royaumes. Le cheval rouge de Koan-kong, autrement dit le 'lapin rouge,' est placé près de la porte dans un angle du mur, à côté du cheval blanc du lettré.[3] Plus souvent encore Tchao Kong-ming, (趙公明), général des Chang (商), est honoré comme dieu militaire de la richesse.

2° Le vestibule du pavillon. Après avoir traversé la pagode de Wang-ling-koan, le visiteur se trouve en face du grand vestibule bâti la XVIIe année de Kia-king, 1812. Il sert d'entrée d'honneur au pavillon Tsoei k'ing-leou (萃景樓). Au frontispice de ce portail une inscription horizontale en quatre caractères invite gracieusement les pélerins à monter les degrée du perron construit en avant du pavillon : Keng chang i tseng (更上一層), Montez encore un degré.

3° Tsoei-k'ing-leou (萃景樓), le pavillon du Site Ravissant. Au delà du vestibule on franchit une cour

(1) *Recherches*, tom. X, p. 742.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. X, pp. 773, 788.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. XI, pp. 956, 969.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

intérieure et on entre dans le pavillon aujourd'hui transformé en pagode. C'est ce monument, qui en raison de sa merveilleuse situation sur une esplanade tout au faite de la montagne, a inspiré aux poètes chinois leurs plus belles poésies.

*A.* Deux statues occupent le centre du monument. La plus proche de la porte d'entrée est celle du bouddha (*a*) Tsié-ing (接引), Amitha bouddha, honoré par les amidistes contemporains. Il habite le paradis de l'Ouest, où ses dévots jouissent d'un bonheur sans partage après leur renaissance d'un lotus.[1] (*b*) Wei-touo pou-sah, le général gardien des pagodes bouddhistes, se tient en arrière de Tsié-ing.

*B.* Sur les autels de l'Est siègent trois divinités stellaires. (*a*) Teou-mou (斗母) la mère du pôle. La célèbre Maritchi, mère des souverains humains, appelée en chinois Mo-li-tche (摩利支). Son palais est placé dans la Polaire, il se nomme le Gond du ciel, parce que toutes les étoiles tournent autour de ce pivot central.[2] (*b*) Nan-teou (南斗), l'esprit stellaire du pôle sud. C'est le vieux Cheou-sing (壽星), le dieu de la longévité. L'intendant des six étoiles du pôle sud est nommé Tcheou-ki (周紀).[3] (*c*) Pé-teou (北斗) l'intendant des sept esprits stellaires du pôle nord, est Hoang Tien-siang (黃天祥), fils de Hoang Fei-hou (黃飛虎), général des armées de Ou-Wang, le fondateur des Tcheou, 1122 av[4] J.C.

*C.* Sur les autels de l'Ouest; (*a*) Cheou (壽), l'esprit de la longévité, au crâne dénudé, le même que précédemment (*b*) Lou 祿, l'esprit distributeur des charges officielles et des dignités. Sous ce titre on honore Wen-tchang, qui a été canonisé : Intendant des dignités et des appointements des vivants et des morts (生死爵祿).[5] (*c*) Fou (福),

(1) *Recherches*, tom. VI, p. 81.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. IX, p. 565.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. XI, p. 966; XII, Divinités stellaires; *Fong-chen-yen-i*, hoei 99.
(4) *Ibid.*, tom. X, p. 709; *Fong-chen-yen-i*, hoei 34.
(5) *Ibid.*, tom. II, p. 302; VI, p. 45.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

l'esprit distributeur du bonheur. Kouo-tse-i (郭子儀). né en 697, grand ministre des Tang, est d'ordinaire honoré sous ce titre. Cependant les païens honorent aussi Tien-koan-se-fou (天官賜福), l'agent du ciel, distributeur du bonheur.[1]

4° Kiang-chen-pao-tien (江神寶殿), le précieux temple de l'Esprit du Kiang. Au-dessus de la porte d'entrée on lit cette inscription (天風海濤), tien-fong-hai-tao ; c'est-à-dire, (L'arbitre) des vents du ciel et des vagues de la mer. Une tablette érigée sur son autel porte l'inscription suivante : Tablette de l'esprit du Kiang et de la mer, honoré par décret impérial.

Au chap. II, Art. viii nous avons donné la traduction de ces pièces officielles.

Sur l'autel du centre dédié à l'Esprit de la mer et du Kiang on honore Ou-tse-siu, ci-dessus nommé.

Sur les deux autels latéraux trônent les quatre grands rois-dragons, esprits des mers (les Nāgārājas de l'Inde). Leurs noms différent d'après les auteurs ; souvent les bonzes honorent Ngao-koang (敖廣), Ngao-kin (敖欽), Ngao-choen (敖順), et Ngao-joen (敖潤).[2]

5° A l'Ouest de la cour et du bassin Tai-ping tche (太平池), on voit une petite pagode divisée en deux salles distinctes. La première se nomme Eul-lang tien (二郎殿), salle dédiée à Eul-lang. Eul-lang ou Yang-tsien (楊戩), est maintenant un personnage connu, nous n'insistons pas. La deuxième salle se nomme Yen-koang tien (眼光殿), salle sous le vocable de Yen-koang pou-sah. Yen-koang ou la déesse de la lumière oculaire, la déesse oculiste, est une des acolytes de la célèbre Pi-hia-yuen-kiun (碧霞元君), fille du dieu de Tai-chan.[3]

Article VI.—*Les temples du sommet.* (Deuxième section du Plan C.)

(1) *Recherches*, tom. XI, p. 948 ; VI, p. 20.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. X, p. 767 ; VII, p. 234.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. X, p. 737.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

1° Tai-ping tche (太平池), le bassin de la Paix. Ce bassin est creusé dans la cour au Sud de la tour. Il est situé de telle sorte que des étages supérieurs de la tour on n'aperçoit qu'une étroite section de sa surface, en dehors du prolongement des toits. Les bonzes ont su mettre à profit cette particularité ; ils ont persuadé les gens que celui qui aurait l'adresse de jeter des pièces de monnaie du haut de la tour, dans ce bassin, serait le favorisé de la fortune. Toute pièce de monnaie jetée est recueillie, soi-disant pour les morts, parce que ce bassin se trouve placé devant la statue de Ti-tsang-wang, le dieu des enfers. Si les morts ne s'en servent pas les vivants savent les utiliser !

2° Tche-yun-ta (支雲塔) la tour Etai des nuages. D'après la manière de parler chinoise elle est à cinq étages, en réalité elle n'a que quatre étages superposés au-dessus du rez-de-chaussée. A chacun des étages quelque divinité est installée, mais c'est surtout le rez-de-chaussée qui constitue la véritable pagode de ce monument.

I. Le rez-de-chaussée. Cette pagode, aménagée entre les quatre murs massifs qui forment comme une sorte de crypte sous la partie basse de la tour, est dédiée à Ti-tsang-wang. De chaque côté de la porte d'entrée, deux niches ménagées dans l'épaisse muraille, renferment les statues des divinités (*a*) Koan-kong, dieu de la guerre, et jouant ici le rôle de gardien armé de la pagode. (*b*) Touo-ta Li-tien-wang (托塔李天王) Li Porte-tour, ou Li Tsing (李靖), père de Na-touo-san-tai-tse (哪吒三太子) ; génie taoïste à qui le bouddha Jan-teng (燃燈), fit présent d'une tour. Il est choisi tout d'avance comme gardien des tours.[1]

L'autel central est consacré à Ti-tsang-wang. Mais comme la tour Etai des nuages est dédiée au bonze Ta-cheng, il est juste que sa statue trouve place dans cette pagode, et on l'a placée derrière celle de Ti-tsang-wang, sur un trône près de la muraille Nord. Il a deux bonzes pour acolytes : Hoei-ngan-chan-che (慧岸禪師), et Mou-tcha tsuen-tché (木义尊者).

(1) *Recherches*, tom. IX, p. 569.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

A la gauche de Ta-cheng sont les six statues des esprits des six étoiles du Pôle Sud. Voici les titulaires de cette agence céleste. (*a*) Tcheou Ki (周 紀), combattait dans les armées du tyran Tcheou (紂). (*b*) Hou Lei (胡 雷), mourut au service de l'ancienne dynastie Chang. (*c*) Kao Koei (高 貴), défenseur du parti des Chang (商), contre le pretendant Ou-wang (武 王). (*d*) Yu Tcheng (余 成), adversaire de la nouvelle dynastie Tcheou (周). (*e*) Suen Pao (孫 寶), tué dans les combats contre Ou-wang. (*f*) Lei Koen (雷 鯤), général des Chang (商).

Devant ces génies une tablette est érigée pour indiquer leur charge transcendante : Nan teou lou se yen cheou tchen kiun (南 斗 六 司 延 壽 眞 君), les six vrais princes du pôle sud, recteurs de la longévité.[1]

Deux autres tablettes figurent encore à côté de celle-ci ; la tablette de Maritchi, la mère des souverains humains, surnommée la Mére du pôle et souveraine absolue de toutes les constellations de ces parages. Déjà nous l'avons nommée précédemment. Il y a aussi la tablette de l'Esprit recteur du soleil.

Le titulaire de cette haute fonction est l'esprit archer Chen-i (神 羿), surnom du génie Tche-kiang-tse-yu (赤 將 子 輿), disciple de Tai-i-hoang-jen (太 乙 皇 人), et ministre de Hoang-ti (黃 帝).[2]

*D.* A la droite de Ta-cheng sont rangées les sept statues des esprits stellaires de la Grande Ourse. Voici les noms des titulaires : (*a*) Hoang-tien-siang (黃 天 祥), fils de Hoang Fei-hou, général des Tcheou ; (*b*) Pi-kan (比 干), le tyran Tcheou lui fit arracher le cœur ; (*c*) Teou Yong (竇 榮), maréchal des armées du tyran Tcheou (紂); (*a*) Han Cheng (韓 昇), chef d'armée de l'empereur Tcheou-wang ; (*e*) Han P'ien (韓 變), défenseur de l'ancienne dynastie Chang ; (*f*)

(1) Tous ces hommes moururent dans les combats livrés par Kiang-tse-ya au tyran Tcheou 紂, et furent canonisés après leur mort. Cf. *Fong-chen-yen-i*, Hoei 99. *Recherches*, tom. XII, Divinités stellaires

(2) *Recherches*, tom. XII, Divinités stellaires ; *Chen-sien-tong-kien*, liv. III, art. 2, p. 9; art. 3, pp. 1–8.



Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Sou Tsiuen-tchong (蘇全忠), officier au service du dernier empereur des Chang; (*g*) Ngo Choen (鄂順), officier au service de Tcheou-wang. Tous moururent glorieusement au service de leur souverain, et furent canonisés par Kiang-tse-ya.[1]

Devant ces statues les tablettes de deux autres divinités stellaires ont été érigées. (*a*) La tablette du mari de Maritchi, Tcheng Tsi-tchong (辰祭從), qui habite avec sa conjointe dans la palais le Gond du pole et est charge de la surveillance des constellations polaires.[2] Le titre de Libérateur des péchés, qui est ici sur la tablette, s'applique d'ordinaire à l'agent de l'eau, Choei koan.

(*b*) La tablette de l'esprit lunaire. La titulaire est Wan-ngo (婉娥), épouse de Chen-i (神羿), qui vola à son mari des pilules d'immortalité, les mangea, et puis s'envola dans la lune. Son mari habite le palais solaire et elle habite le palais lunaire. Le 15e de la lune Chen-i vient voir son épouse, et c'est pour ce motif que la lune brille d'un éclat exceptionnel.[3]

*E.* Dans une niche extérieure, au pied de la tour, sur le côté nord, on a logé une statue de Wei-touo, le général gardien des monuments bouddhiques.

II. Au premier étage. On a placé la statue de Tsié-ing, Amitha bouddha, du paradis de l'Ouest.

III. Au seconde étage est la statue de Tchoen-ti (準提), le Tchundi du bouddhisme, à multiples bras, huit ou même dix-huit, et à trois têtes, dont l'une est une tête de porc.[4] IV. Au troisième étage est la statue de Ti-tsang wang. V. Au quatrième étage se trouve deux statues, celle de Wei-touo et celle de Koan-yng sous figure masculine. Il est réprésenté assis, son pied droit est posé sur sa cuisse, et ses habits sont

(1) *Recherches*, tom. XII, Divinités stellaires : *Fong-chen-yen-i*, 99 hoei.

(2) *Ibid.*, tom. XII, Divinités stellaires : *Chen-sien-tong-kien*, liv. I, art. 4, p. 9.

(3) *Ibid.*, tom. XII, Divinités stellaires : *Chen-sien-tong-kien*, liv. I, art. 4, p. 9.

(4) *Ibid.*, tom. VII, pp. 197–203.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

complètement dorés ; le pouce, l'index et le petit doigt sont allongés, les deux doigts médians sont recourbés, ses avant bras reposent sur sa jambe posée en travers. Il porte une longue barbe noire et sa chevelure est presque totalement dissimulée sous une toque dorée à l'indienne.

C'est un fait très significatif de trouver le Koan-yng masculin au sommet de la tour Etai des nuages, dédiée à Ta-cheng, avatar de Koan-yng. C'est une probabilité en plus, que Koan-yng était encore honoré sous figure masculine au temps du bonze Ta-Cheng, et à l'époque où fut élevée cette tour.

3° Tchoan-tche-ngan (川至庵), la pagode de l'afflux du fleuve : nom symbolique que nous avons expliqué au chapitre précédent. Cette pagode est sise en dehors de l'enclos de la tour, à l'Est du mur d'enceinte ; elle est dédiée à la triade bouddhique.

Au Nord de la tour, l'enclos s'élargit à l'Est et à l'Ouest en forme de deux demi-lunes, où sont bâties deux pagodes, placées sous le vocable des dieux de la littérature. En voici la déscription.

4° Wen-sing-ting(文星亭), le kiosque de l'étoile de la littérature, dans la demi-lune orientale. On y vénère Wen-tchang, le dieu de la littérature ; Koan-kong vénéré par les lettrés et les militaires ; Liu-tsou (呂祖), Liu Tong-ping (呂洞賓), un des huit Immortels et patron des lettrés.

Près de l'angle Sud-Ouest de ce kiosque, un pagodin supplémentaire nous fournit l'occasion d'étudier un trait de mœurs bien caractéristique.

Les lettrés, aussi superstitieux que les gens du commun, sinon plus, n'aiment pas se mêler au peuple pour faire leurs dévotions ; assez souvent même, ils se posent comme incrédules à propos de ces drôleries, de peur qu'on les raille de leur trop de crédulité ; mais loin des yeux de profanes témoins, la plupart d'entre eux ne peuvent s'affranchir de la routine. Bien rares sont ceux qui ne tournent point leurs regards vers le dieu de la richesse et les dieux tutélaires de l'enfance. Les bonzes n'ignorent point ces travers, et c'est pour cette raison



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

qu'ils ont aménagé ce petit kiosque à leur usage. Il est situé de telle façon, qu'en se rendant au temple des dieux de la littérature, ils doivent passer devant la porte du pagodin. Et même, pour ménager leur orgueil, humilié d'offrir publiquement leurs hommages à une femme, les bonzes y ont placé un pou-sah masculin, à qui ils ont donné le nom de Tsoei-chen, esprit hâtant l'accouchement et présidant à la naissance de leurs enfants. Ainsi tout s'arrange pour le mieux. Ce kiosque renferme donc les deux pou-sahs, Tsoei-chen, et Tchao kong-ming (趙公明), dieu de la richesse et maréchal des Chang.

5° Wen-sing-lou (文星樓), pavillon à étage de l'Etoile de la littérature. (*a*) Tout au fond et au-dessus des autres dieux est perchée la statue de Koei-sing, divinité stellaire distributrice des grades littéraires.

Le titulaire de cette charge est un académicien nommé Koei, qui se vit injustement refuser la rose d'or, parce qu'il avait une mine désavantageuse. De dépit, il se jeta dans le fleuve, mais un monstre marin nommé Ngao (鰲), le remonta à la surface et le porta aux cieux.[1]

Les autres dieux sont (*b*) Wen-tchang, dieu de la littérature, déjà nommé. (*c*) Koan-kong, dieu de la guerre et des lettres. (*d*) Liu-tsou, l'immortel, patron des lettrés. (*e*) Tchou-i (朱衣), l'Habit rouge, le protecteur des candidats faibles, le dieu de la chance pour les lettrés qui se présentent aux examens.[2] (*f*) Kin-kia (金甲), la Cuirasse d'or. Ce dieu porte un drapeau qu'il n'a qu'à agiter devant une maison pour que la famille compte parmi ses descendants des lauréats aux concours académiques.[3]

Nous voici enfin arrivés devant la dernière et la principale pagode de la montagne ; c'est le célèbre temple du bouddha Ta-cheng, qui occupe le point culminant de la cime. Ce sanctuaire bouddhique est un des plus fréquentés de notre époque ; il mérite donc une description minutieuse.

(1) *Recherches*, tom. VI, p. 45.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. VI, p. 50.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. VI, p. 52.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Nous y trouvons quinze dieux appartenant à toutes les religions, il y en a donc pour tous les goûts.

*A*. Se-tcheou ta-cheng (泗州大聖), le grand saint de Se-tcheou. C'est le maître de céans, il trône sur l'autel central, assis dans sa niche enfumée. Son front est ceint d'un diadème d'or ; devant sa statue deux vases contiennent des fleurs de lotus métalliques. La fumée des lampes et des bougies de graisse a noirci les murs et infecté l'air de ce bouge d'enfer. Il est entouré des quatorze esprits protecteurs de la foi bouddhique, Hòu-fa-chen (護法神), comme les nomment les bonzes. Voici leurs noms :

*B*. Les sept à la gauche du bouddha.

1. Sé-chan-tchao-lié-ta-ti (祠山照烈大帝), vulgairement nommé Tchang-ta-ti (張大帝), honoré specialement à Koang-té-tcheou (廣德州), au Ngan-hoei. Il se métamorphosa en porc pour creuser un canal. Il vivait vers la fin des Han occidentaux.[1]

2. T'soei-tien-chen (崔天神) ; son nom est T'soei Yng; il habitait Fei-hoang-chan (飛凰山), où le maréchal Hoang Fei-hou (黃飛虎), le gagna à la cause de Ou-wang, fondateur des Tcheou. Ce général, en récompense de ses services fut canonisé: Intendant du mont sacré du Nord.[2]

3. Lou Tien-chen (盧天神), le général Lou Tchang (盧昌), mourut dans le combat des Dix mille génies, pendant la guerre du changement de dynastie au début des Tcheou (周). Il fut canonisé Recteur de l'étoile Tien-ki-sing (天機星) (3° de la Grande Ourse).[3]

4. Teng-tien-chen (鄧天神), Teng Tchong (鄧忠), général des Chang, prit part à la bataille de Si-ki (西岐), contre Kiang-tse-ya, fut canonisé Intendant du Ministère du tonnerre avec le titre de Tien-kiun, prince céleste. C'est un génie au visage bleu-verdâtre, cheveux rouges, dents ressortantes et croisées hors des lévres ; il est vêtu d'une

(1) *Recherches*, tom. XII, Dieux composites.
(2) *Fong-chen-yen-i*, hoei 69; hoei 99, p. 37.
(3) *Ibid.*, hoei 99, p. 39.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

robe rouge et porte une cuirasse d'or, son armure est une hache.[1]

5. Teou-tien-chen (竇天神), Teou Yong (竇榮), maréchal de Tcheou Wang (紂王), tué à Yeou-hoen-koan (遊魂關), par Kin-touo, et Mou-touo, fils de Li Porte-tour. Il fut canonisé Recteur de l'étoile Ou-kiu-sing (武曲星). Chaque fois que cette étoile se réincarne sous figure humaine, cet homme devient académicien militaire.[2]

6 et 7. Deux Rois-dragons ; Nagarajas bouddhiques. Çakyamouni avant sa mort avait confié sa loi aux rois-dragons, les priant de la protéger contre ses ennemis.[3]

*C.* Les sept à la droite du Bouddha sont (*a*) Wang-ling-koan (華光五顯靈官大帝), (*b*) Ma-ta-yuen-choai (馬大元帥) ; nommé encore Ling-koan Ma-yuen-choai, génie mi-bouddhique, mi-taoïste, condamné par le bouddha Jou-lai (如來) à se réincarner, parce qu'il s'était montré trop sévère dans la répression des mauvais esprits.[4] (*c*) Tchao-yuen-choai (趙元帥), Tchao King (趙景), du Se-tchoan, un des noms de Eul-lang. Cet officier livra combat au dragon, le poursuivit dans les eaux du fleuve, et lui coupa la tête.[5] (*a*) Wen-yuen-choai (溫元帥), bachelier du Tché-kiang, vainqueur du dragon. Canonisé Maréchal des Esprits et Intendant de tous les fonctionnaires du Pic sacré de l'Est. Il figure dans la plupart des pagodes du dieu de Tai-chan. Il est armé d'une sorte de poignard hérissé de pointes.[6] (*e*) Yo-ta yuen-choai (岳大元帥), Yo Fei, général des Song, dont nous avons parlé ci-dessus. (*f*) (興佛齊德安樂聖公). Ce bouddha s'appelait Ngan-lô kou-fou (安樂古佛). C'est le 13e d'une série de 24 bouddhas, qui sont des transformations de 24 pierres précieuses, que possédait l'ancêtre primordial Ou-yuen kou-fou (無源古佛), ou le

(1) *Fong-chen-yen-i*, hoei 41, p. 9; hoei 99.
(2) *Ibid*, hoei 93, 94, pp. 19, 21 ; hoei 99.
(3) *Recherches*, Vie de Bouddha.
(4) *Ibid.*, tom. X, p. 710.
(5) *Ibid.*, tom. IX. p. 591.
(6) *Ibid.*, tom. IX, p. 658.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

bouddha ancêtre sans origine.[1] (*g*) L'esprit gardien de la montagne du Loup. Le génie protecteur de cette montagne est par le fait le protecteur du temple qu'on y a érigé.

Pour achever notre tournée d'inspection il ne nous reste plus qu'à jeter un coup d'oeil sur le kiosque moderne de la Koan-yng à l'Habit blanc, érigé au-dessus de la paroi à pic de la vieille falaise, sur le flanc septentrional. Ce monument symbolise on ne peut mieux la moderne Chine s'obstinant à rester païenne. Il domine les constructions neuves que Mr. Tchang Kien vient de faire élever au pied du rocher pour les mendiants qui harcelaient les pélerins, espérant leur tirer quelques sapèques.

*Le succès du pélerinage.* En terminant cette étude, voyons dans un résumé rapide quelles sont les causes de célébrité de ce pélerinage de Lang-chan.

1° Un site pittoresque, tranchant sur la monotonie de cette vaste plaine d'alluvion.

2° Une vue splendide du haut de l'ancienne falaise dominant le cours du Kiang.

3° Des noms poétiques donnés à tous les saillants de roche. Les paysans sont de grands enfants qui ont besoin d'être amusés; les poètes chinois, baladins de la phrase, ont trouvé le mot de la situation.

4° De vieux souvenirs légendaires, habilement transmis de générations à générations, se rattachent à tous les recoins de la montagne. Grotte des immortels, grotte du Soleil levant, pont jeté en mer par T'sin Che-hoang-ti, multiples souvenirs des hommes remarquables des temps passés; maréchaux, poétes, peintres, littérateurs, compatriotes célèbres, etc.

5° Les légendes, qui jouent un si grand rôle dans les milieux populaires; pierres tombées du ciel, ascensions d'immortels, préparation de pilules d'immortalité.

6° Les poésies chantant l'aménité de ces hauts lieux, et en circulation dans les milieux lettrés.

(1) *Sien-fon-tcheng-tchoan-tche-kiai* (préface) 仙佛眞傳直解 (序).



Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

7° Les prodiges inventés par les bonzes pour duper la simplicité de ce pauvre peuple: statues flottantes, prétendus miracles de leurs divinités.

8° Victoire célèbre que la jalousie d'un ministre de la guerre attribue officiellement à un Esprit, plutôt que de voir son rival en cueillir les lauriers

9° Edits impériaux prescrivant la construction de certains temples, l'oblation de sacrifices.

10° Cérémonies officielles en grande pompe, à l'occasion des sacrifices, de l'érection des stèles, de la restauration des pagodes.

11° Les monuments rappelant le souvenir des ascètes, des bonzes célèbres ou thaumaturges, et des premiers fondateurs.

12° Attractions, amusements, v.g. la Roue de la métempsycose, l'oscillation des yeux de certains pou-sahs, l'ascension sur le sommet de la tour, le jet des pièces de monnaie dans la Piscine de la paix.

13° La multiplicité des pagodes et des pou-sahs qui y sont honorés.

14° Le choix judicieux des dieux les plus en vogue, les plus populaires.

15° Surtout le vocable de Koan-yng, qui y est honorée sous toutes les figures. Koan-yng aux mille mains, Koan-yng la donatrice d'enfants, Koan-yng à l'Habit blanc, Koan-yng sous figure masculine, etc.

16° Le culte de Ta-cheng, avatar de Koan-yng, ou Koan-yng dans une existence plus rapprochée de nous. Trouvaille énorme! mais qui n'est pas faite pour épouvanter la crédulité populaire. Plus la chose est forte, plus elle a chance de faire fortune, quand elle caresse des illusions chéries.

17° En Chine on croit encore presque universellement que le dragon forme les nuées et produit les pluies. Or des légendes nombreuses placent l'antre des dragons à Lang-chan, sous la domination plénière de Ta-cheng. Donc il est l'arbitre



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

de la sécheresse ou de l'inondation, la fortune des paysans est entre ses mains, il importe de se le rendre propice.

Cet aperçu rapide a encore un avantage plus général, c'est de nous initier à la mise en œuvre des moyens de réussite exploités par les bonzes dans les cas analogues. Ce n'est pas seulement à Lang-chan qu'ils ont usé ces expédients, mais sous une forme ou sous l'autre nous retrouvons un peu partout les mêmes procédés couronnés du même succès.

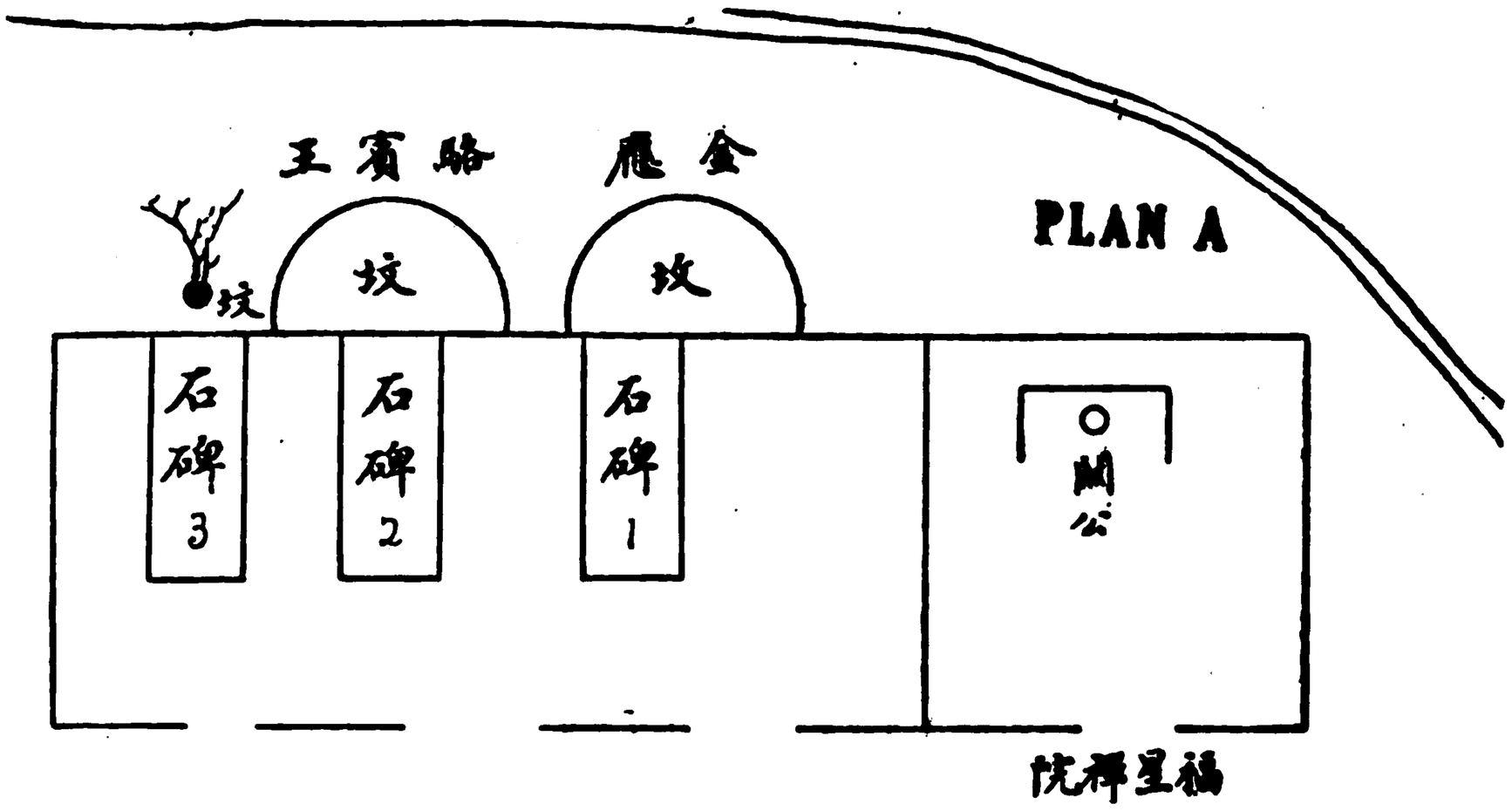
Tout pélerinage en Chine est une spéculation, car les bonzes et les tao-che sont aussi réfractaires à tout amour désintéressé, qu'une plaque d'amiante à l'action du feu.

*[Fin.]*



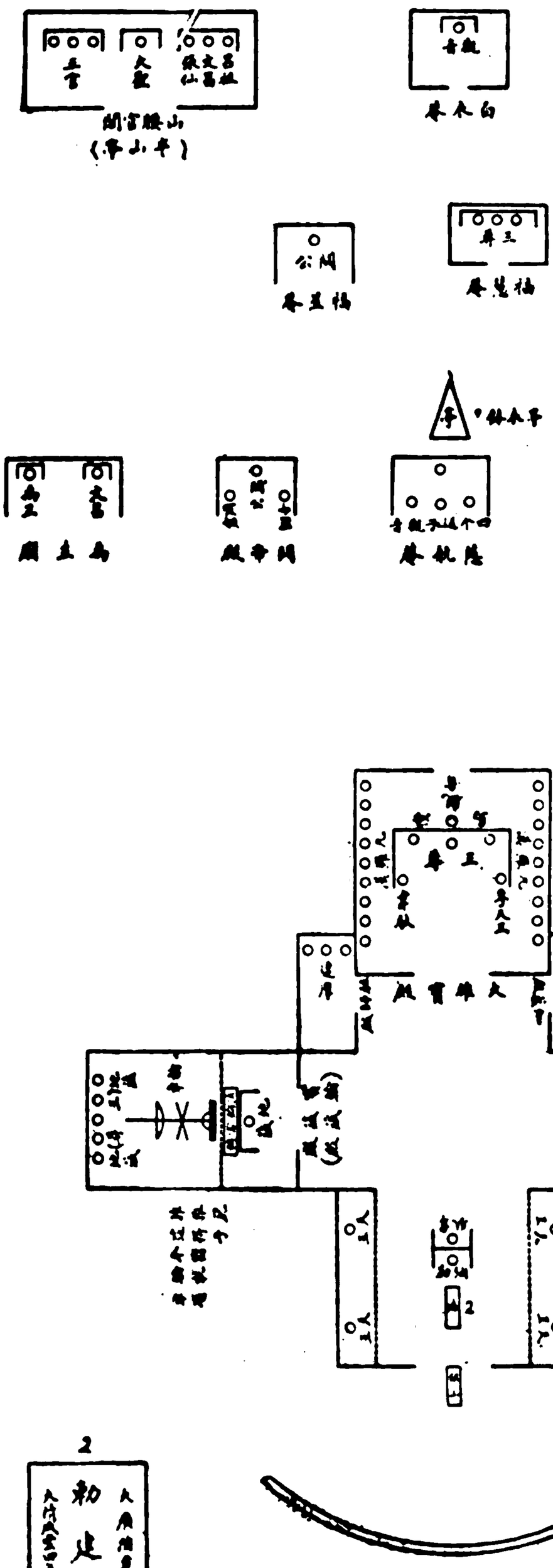
Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY



Digitized by Google
Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

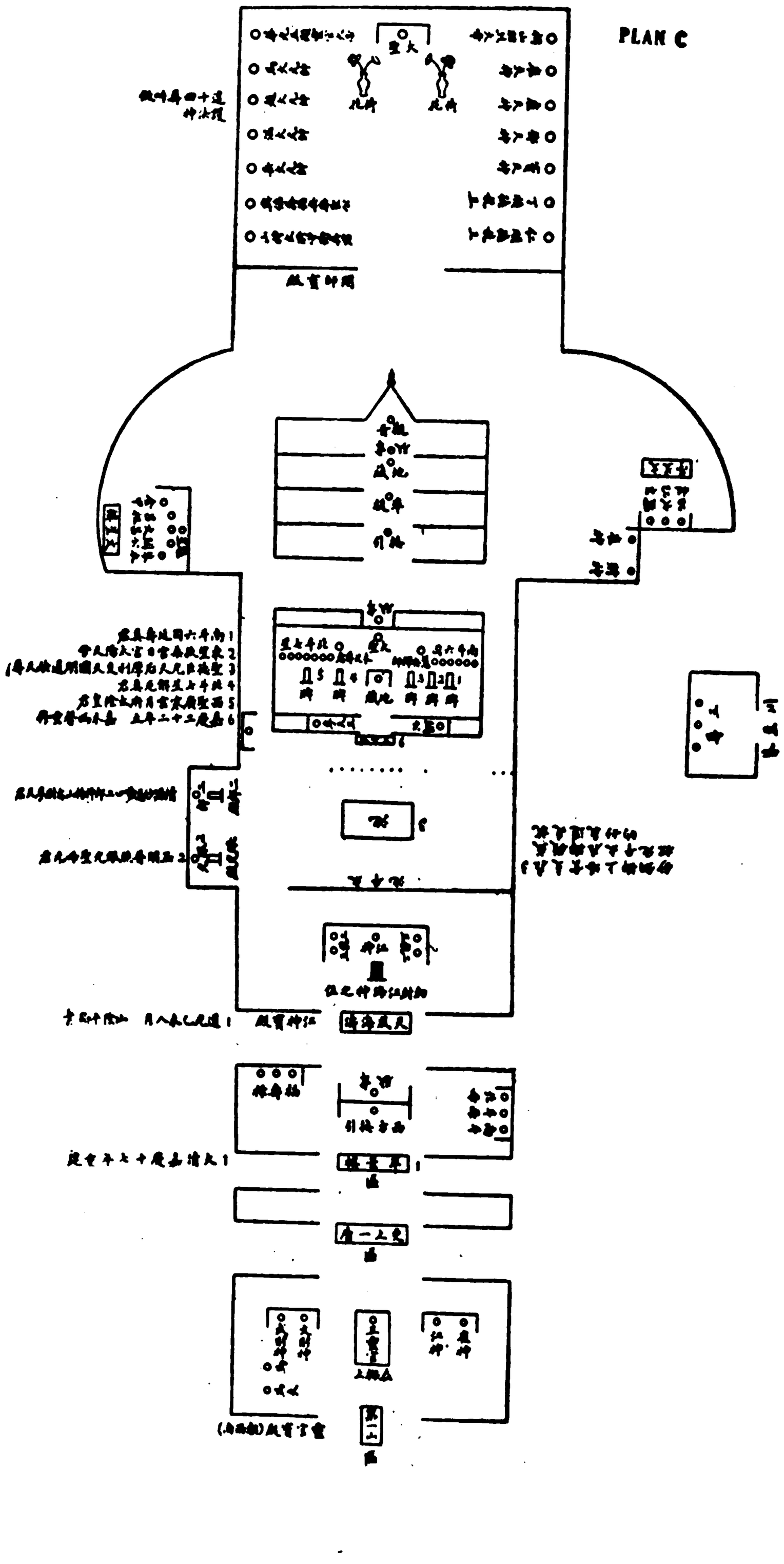
PLAN B





Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

PLAN C



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

# CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY

THE REV. J. HUTSON

---

## *BOOK III—POLITICAL*

### CHAPTER I

### SECRET SOCIETIES

During the past twenty years the writer's calling has often brought him into close contact with and even into sharp opposition to secret society organizations in Ssŭch'uan. The chief difficulty in studying such societies is, of course, that they are secret, and the divulging of details is likely to be severely punished.

The difficulty all missionary societies have had in getting a foothold in Ssŭch'uan is due to the Tang Tzŭ Hang (黨子行), or Confucian Society. The plots of the literati culminated in the riots of 1895. From that year till about 1902 new influences were brought into play by bringing the more lawless elements of society into action. This period might be called the Hypnotic Period; it includes the Yü



Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Man-tzŭ rebellion of 1898, the Boxer upheaval of 1900, and the local Boxer trouble of 1902, when the Boxer bands even entered the provincial capital.

From 1902 a new phase begins, when the Ch'ien Tzŭ Hang (鉗子行), or Tally Society, made a movement toward the Church to capture it for political purposes, both protective and aggressive. The period ended in the Revolution of 1911.

To be clear, it may be stated here that the Tally Society is the same as the Han Liu (漢流), or Ko Lao Hui (哥老會), and the period may be named the Han Liu period.

After 1911 those who had entered the Church for political reasons tried to get possession of Church property or to start self-governing causes of their own; but always for political or personal advantage. This might be called the Self-government Period.

The first three of the above periods exhibit phenomena important not only now, but acting even in remote antiquity.

The writer believes that this ancient West China fraternity originated in the Totemistic age. That age, which was one of magic, has left many traces, especially in these sodalities. The frequent mention of the dragon in the organization of the brotherhood abundantly proves its Totemistic origin. The leading Elder Brother is spoken of as the "Dragon's Head." The baser sort, who make a living by roving, are called "Rolling Dragons." And a score of similar instances might be given.

Not to go further back than the end of the Chou (周) dynasty, we may divide the society of the time into three classes: (i), followers of Confucius—the reform party; (ii), followers of Lao-Tzŭ—a mystical party; (iii), followers of Nature—a reactionary party that developed into the Han Liu fraternity. These three schools of thought can be distinctly seen in the secret society organizations of West China to-day.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

### *The Confucian Society, Tang Tzŭ Hang* (黨子行)

The School, or Society, is very ancient and has always borne an agnostic stamp, both in literature and religion.

The worship of Confucius is a very real thing in China, and the substitution of a tablet for an image, a change made by the Republic, is very superficial. But few, if any, of the Confucian schools have ever been satisfied with the worship of Confucius alone, but freely indulged in the worship of ancestors, and have invited the aid of the Shaman brethren when expedient or when sickness or death in the family made it necessary. Thus, the Confucian scholar may also be a follower of both the mystical and naturalistic schools.

It is readily understood that the class of persons who enter the Confucian Society is different in caste and calibre from those of other societies; but it must be remembered that the agreement is equally binding and the political consequences even more serious than in the case of other societies, and it has been the source of revolutionary activities of great importance.

The Confucian Society is the society *par excellence* of the official, scholar, and student. In its present form it dates at least from the T'ang dynasty, when the followers of the "Peach Orchard" trio refused to recognize the T'ang and clave to the Han (漢) and Liu (劉), and are called Han Liu (漢流).[1]

### *The Mystical or Hypnotic Sect, Chiao-fei* (教匪)

The Hypnotic School has always been closely connected with the Taoist sect, with charms, trances, and spells of various kinds; and it may be that some of the exploits attributed to ancient heroes were done under hypnotic influence. The trances, etc., are brought about by regular training of mind and body, a rigid concentration of spirit, and

(1) Though the characters are different some Chinese give this explanation of Han Liu.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

complete submission of the being to the domination of some particular demon: when the training is complete the whole person is under the mesmeric control of the demon.

The rallying centre of these hypnotic sects is generally a living goddess of mercy, usually a girl of sixteen or eighteen or even younger; doubtless the remnant of a cruder, naturalistic system of great antiquity.

There is quite a long list of these sects which have caused insurrection and bloodshed in different parts of the country. These religious fanatics, *chiao fei*, have caused much more difficulty to the government than the ordinary *ku-fei* (喝匪) (*v. inf.*) The latter rob for their sustenance, and having stolen enough they live luxuriously till there is need for another raid to get more funds. But the religious fanatics are of a very different character.

Such societies seek first by charms and vegetarian vows to win the rich and landed classes. They promise immortality as the reward of large liberality and abstinence from fornication, wine, and pork. The entrance fee is generally small, but members have only the common purse; even rice and clothing are held for the common use.

Having gained a footing among the rich, they next win over the village headmen, and finally the retainers of the district magistrate. When trouble arises, the magistrate may send to suppress it and may even raid the Society's headquarters; but care is taken that the propagandists are protected and escorted to their resorts in the southern mountains.

Such societies may differ in the charms they use and the idols they worship; but they have mesmeric hypnotism and fanatical trances as their common feature.

In this category are included the White Lotus Society (白蓮教), the Arabic (天方),[1] the Eight-Diagram Society

(1) This might mean "square heavens."



Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

(八卦), the Red Lantern Society (紅燈教), the United Fists Society (義和拳), the Big Sword Society (大刀會), the Lamp-wick Society (燈花教), and others.

The many rebellious movements and rebel leaders with which and with whom these Societies are connected will be found in history.

In Ssŭch'uan many people knew the Boxer arts before 1900, especially round such centres as Paoning (保寧), Mienchou (綿州), and Chin T'ang hsien (金堂); but there was not enough strength or organization for a rising.

The hypnotic arts are still practised in secret in different parts of the province, but more especially in the North, their original home. The vows used are many and various, but the chief are for the purification of the body and of the mouth. Their charms also are very abundant, the chief ones being the Kao Wang (高王符) charm and the Goddess of Mercy (觀音) charm.

In 1905 a hypnotic sect entered Ssŭch'uan from Shensi and disturbed the eastern and southern parts of the province. It was known as the Ch'ing Ch'a Chiao (清察教). Its charms were similar to those of the Red Lantern Society; but the vows were different and seem to have originated in the Yangtze provinces, for the "tea-planter's ballad" was used in the religious observances.

During the short reign of Hsüan T'ung a religious sect drilled and caused trouble in eastern Ssŭch'uan; but they never got out of control owing to the severe measures taken against them by the authorities.

### *The Reactionary School, or Han Liu* (漢流)

This is our third great class of secret societies. It must be borne in mind that our division is by no means arbitrary. It is quite possible for a person to belong to all three classes; on the other hand there has sometimes been strife, especially between the Hypnotic and the Reactionary Schools.



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Investigating the origin of this School we find it begins in hoary antiquity, and probably represents the most ancient demon worship. The class tenaciously holds to natural depravity, resists external reforms, and through the ages has made licentious liberty the chief ideal of life.

The heroes worshipped are the " Peach Orchard " trio of the Han dynasty; but they have also a system of Shamanism probably of much earlier date, and including all manner of sorceries and wizards' art.

Among other terms the brethren call themselves *tsa-mên ti-hsiung* (咱們弟兄), we brethren. *Tsa-mên* is of northern origin and Shamanism had its origin in Northern Asia; hence I believe this brotherhood to be Asiatic Shamanism. This system of Shamanism has very wide ramifications in Central Asia, where neither race nor religion seems to debar anyone from joining the secret conclaves. On the Tibetan border Chinese and aboriginals make sworn covenants for mutual protection and assistance in business matters. No Chinese could prosper in barter trade with Tibetans unless he was a member of this Society; he would most likely be robbed and killed on his first journey.

The sorcery practices which are such a feature in this brotherhood are presided over by a system of lay Taoist priests called *ho-chü-tao* (夥居道). These men, though knowing all the arts of the exorcist and much of the doctrine of Tao, are not celibates or hermits, as in the regular priesthood, but have their homes among men and around their ancestral tablets.

The Society delights in sorcery and wizardry, and on the slightest pretext members present one another with a "pacification concert." Such occasions as a sickness in the family, a slight bodily injury, an unlucky omen, etc., are seized on as excuses for a midnight orgy to expel some troublesome demon. At the close of such uproarious nocturnal performances the baser sort amuse themselves by committing robberies on their way home in the small hours.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

The weird music connected with Shaman worship needs to be heard, for no pen can describe the uncanny effects; the drum of the temple, the blast of the trumpet, the conch horn of the wizard, the hooting cow's horns of the priests, the clash of cymbals, the crash of gongs, the howling of demon-oppressed people, the cry to departing spirits, are all directly or indirectly related to this brotherhood.

Many primitive and objectionable customs are still practised in the sect. Marriage by capture is by no means unknown, and to many it is the ideal method. Eating the liver and the heart of an enemy, or distributing parts of his body to distant places for others to eat; the sacrifice of human victims to the flags or to the spirit of a fallen comrade, are customs still practised. The Society has thus earned the name *ho-êrh-liu* (和而流), or loose profligates.

### *The Ssŭch'uan Ku-lu-tzŭ* (嘓嚕子)

The province was practically depopulated by the robber bands of Li Tzŭ-ch'êng (李自成), Chang Hsien-chung (張獻忠), Wang San-huai (王三槐), and others. Many were slaughtered, many fled. Afterwards immigrants from Hupei, Hunan, and other provinces occupied the deserted soil and bound themselves by oaths for mutual protection against remnants of robber bands or returning émigrés.

Many old inhabitants returned, to find their lands in possession of strangers. Such people, the weak taking to beggary, the strong to robbery, together with the scattered remnants of the earlier robber bands, all together received the name of *ku-lu-tzŭ*.

This term is peculiar to Ssŭch'uan and it was contracted into *ku-fei* (嘓匪). The explanation of this is not satisfactory. The *Kuang Yün* (廣韻) says that *ku* resembles the sound of quacking and gabbling, while *lu* means flattering words such as beggars use. The *Chêng Tzŭ T'ung* (正字通) speaks of *tu-lu* (吐嚕) as meaning *k'o-hsi* (可惜), a term of pity. In some parts evilly disposed beggars are still called



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

*tu-lu-tsŭ*, so it is possible that it is a term of pity, and meant, pity the poor aborigine. Some explain by saying the *ku-fei* were to be feared because of their number and character while the *lu-fei* were to pitied because of their extreme poverty. This explanation, which seems reasonable, makes the term *ku-lu-tsŭ* mean robbers and beggars; and it may have been applied by the Mongol and Manchu troops who came to the province to restore order.

As the Ch'ing dynasty gradually got control of the country the *ku-lu-tsŭ* vere dispersed, and began to be spoken of as *p'i-fei* (痞匪), which means obstructionists. They were also jokingly called *hsien-ta-lang* (閒打浪), or idle wave beaters; this is now contracted to *ta-lang-ĕrh*, and seems to mean one who lives by his wits or his luck.

These obstructionists lived in blue tents, and were used as entertainers at funerals or festivities. On such occasions they pitched their tents at the door of the dwelling house where they were invited and opened a gambling booth for the entertainment of the visitors.

Such entertainers were divided into two distinct classes, the red cash and the black cash fraternity. The latter made secret vows amid the sacrificial burnings of the incense hall, carried arms, and lived by burglaries. The red cash fraternity occupied themselves with slitting open cash bags or cutting off the last 200 cash on a string of cash. If any red cash brother got caught and was branded on the face he was at once degraded into the black cash brotherhood. These two classes exist to-day, the red cash people being gamblers and pickpockets by daylight while the black cash brethren live by burglary in the dark.[1]

The settlers from other provinces naturally hated all *ku-lu-tsŭ* and called them "rats" because of their nocturnal habits and because they so readily disappeared at the approach of the enemy. In the south of the province any one with the

(1) The red and the black cash must not be confused with the red and the black flags, to be mentioned later.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

look of an aborigine is still called a rat. But the curse has come home to roost, for in Hupei and Hunan all Ssŭch'uanese are now called by this term, whatever their extraction. In retaliation the Hupei people in Ssŭch'uan are contemptuously termed "Hupei bean-curd."

In spite of government and settlers the *ku-lu-tzŭ* have never been exterminated, and they continue to style themselves the Han Liu.

The terms "Han Liu" and *ku-fei* seem synonymous, the former being used by the brethren, the latter being applied to them by the officials. The former term implies their wish to preserve the ancient Han ideals and aspirations as against Mongol and Manchu influences. The other term, *ku-fei*, indicates that the officials regard them as malcontents and opponents of law and order.

For many years before the Hsien Fêng reign (1851–62) the "Yellow River was at peace," that is, was free from rebellion. Then the *ku-fei* rose in revolt under the leadership of Lan Ta-shun (藍大順) and Li-Tuan-ta (李短韃). The different characters of these two are shown by their nicknames, "Lan hurry up," and "Li go slowly." Though not Ssŭch'uanese they easily persuaded the *ku-fei* to join them against the Manchus. The revolt was quelled by Hunan troops under Viceroy Lo Wên-chung. The remnants of Lan's marauders were scattered in Tsung Ch'ing-chou, Kuan-hsien, and Tai-I hsien. These districts west of the Min River seem to have been also the chief refuge of Chang Hsien-chung's bands, which no doubt accounts for the lawless, ungovernable character of the population there.

After Lo Wên-chung's coming the *ku-fei* began to be called *t'u-fei*, but the former term is still known and is sometimes applied to them by officials. The term *t'u* was used of the aboriginal tribes, and *fei* probably meant they were not fit to be classed as men, *fei-jên* (非人). This term, *fei-jên* (匪人), has been systematically applied to all aborigines all over China.

The meaning of Han Liu is also variously given; some regard it as meaning simply brigands; others say the name



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

means the descendants of Liu Pei (劉備) of the Han dynasty; but it most likely means the descendants of the obstructives and outcasts of the Han period.

It may safely be said that there is now little or no difference between Han Liu, *ku-fei*, *t'u-fei*, *p'ao-ko* (胞哥), *ko-lao* (哥老), and *chiang-hu* (江湖); all are somehow linked up in one great fraternity. The prestige of some brethren extends over several provinces and it would be highly interesting to trace the connection between the Dragon throne and the rolling dragons of the provinces.

*The Ko-lao-hui and the Han Liu.* With the advent of Lo Wên-chung and the suppression of Lan Ta-shun's revolt about 1855, a new secret society organization seems to have been introduced into the province in the shape of the *Ko-lao-hui*. Some Chinese state that it was introduced by the government as a check to the Han Liu. It is more generally held, however, that Lo's Hunan braves brought it with them. Many of these soldiers settled in Ssŭch'uan and their brotherhood gradually amalgamated with that of the Han Liu. It would seem as if there was also a union with some piratical elements. The term *chiang-hu*, so often used, means "rivers and lakes" and is supposed to mean "rovers of the waters." The terms *to-pa-tzŭ* (拕把子), "helmsman"; *ma-t'ou* (碼頭), "anchorage"; *hai* (海), "sea"; *shui* (水), "water"; all seem to point to a piratical origin, but are in constant use in the fraternity.

The Ko-lao-hui was originally divided into eight lodges, each known by a distinctive character, as follows; (1) *jên* (仁), "benevolence"; (2) *i* (義), "rectitude"; (3) *li* (禮), "propriety"; (4) *chih* (智), "wisdom"; (5) *hsin* (信), "sincerity"; (6) *san-yüan* (三元), "the Taoist trinity"; (7) *ssŭ-hsi* (四喜) "four joys"; (8) *wu-fu* (五福), "five happinesses."

All recognize the Benevolent Lodge as being not only the senior, but also the aristocratic part of the brotherhood. Its members are called (清水胞哥) "clear-water womb-brothers"; their conduct is more enlightened and their customs more



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

rigid than in the other lodges. This Benevolent Lodge is now amalgamated with the Western Lodge of ancient Han Liu, and I believe their character-marks are interchangeable.

In the second, or Rectitude Lodge, are massed the turbid-water (渾水) womb-brothers, probably the real Han Liu members; all the lawless elements in the district adjoining Chêngtu are mustered under this Rectitude mark.

In these districts, strange to say, a few belong to the Benevolent Lodge, the majority to the Rectitude Lodge, and the other lodges are mere empty names. In districts on the Yangtze, however, it is not so; there, some of the other lodges are fully occupied and organized; the Ko-lao-hui element seems the stronger there, while in the Chengtu districts the Han Liu element predominates.

Those in the Rectitude Lodge call the brethren of the Benevolent Lodge by the term "uncle." It is sometimes easy to mistake the sworn adoptive relationships for those of blood.

Each lodge has twelve grades of membership, *pai* (排) or *tai* (代).

The first consists of the presiding elder (坐堂大爺), *tso t'ang ta yeh* and the vice president, *t'i tiao* (提調) *ta yeh*. The former position is a very important one, since all believe that the success of their meetings rests on the virtues of their president.

The second grade is called *Wu shêng* (武聖). Few dare assume the responsibilities of this grade, for their lot in life will then be poor and mouldy and their luck mean and miserable. Some Buddhist or Taoist priests are generally found to shoulder the responsibilities.

The third grade is known as *Hsüan Hou* (桓侯) *san yeh*, Hsüan Hou being Chang Fei (張飛), of the "Peach Orchard" trio.

The fourth grade stands with no representative, in fact no one would be allowed to take a position under the grade even if willing. The cause is superstition; *ssŭ* (四), "four," is akin in sound to *shih* (事), "trouble," and is the same except in tone as *ssŭ* (死), "death."



Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

The fifth grade is called *Kuan shih* (管事) *wu yeh* This is a very important position, occupied by two men at each "anchorage," known as the red flag and the black flag managers (紅旗), and (黑旗), *Hung ch'i* and *hei ch'i Kuan shih*. Most power is in the hands of the former, while most of the drudgery falls to the latter, who is generally a man of inferior ability or one who has been degraded to that position for some misdemeanour. Sometimes, however, a rich man with plenty of money to lose and no brains for managing business may be made black flag leader. From the sixth grade downwards the grades are simply known by numbers. But number seven is another grade without a representative, its positions being mere empty names. This is owing to the character for "seven" being akin in sound to the character "to slice."

The eighth grade is called *lao pa* (老八), or *jaọ pa* (么八), and the last grade is called *lao jao* or *hsiao lao jao*.

Any one may buy his way to the top of the Society, *i pu têng t'ien* (一步登天), "rising to heaven at one step." Such a one enters the benevolent lodge as a senior brother, and is called *hsien p'ai* (閒排) *ta yeh* or "leisure-grade brother." Another term for such is *mao ting* (帽頂), or "cap top."

The entrance fee for one and all is 1,280 cash. A candidate, *hsin fu* (新福), must find some one to introduce him and also a guarantor for his good faith. All recruits first enter the grade *lao jao*, but those with ability soon get promoted. On entrance the introducer and guarantor must have presents, and all along the line superiors must be honoured and humoured with gifts. The rank and file of the Rectitude Lodge on meeting the elders of the Benevolent Lodge have to show respect by a three-fold kotow. This is called "one shot with three reports" (一砲三響), *i p'ao san hsiang*. If the knocks of the head on the ground are not distinctly heard it is considered a lack of reverence.

Meetings are generally held in out-of-the-way villages or in some large secluded temple. They are called *k'ai t'ang* (開堂), "to open the hall"; *shao hui* (燒會), "meeting to burn (incense?)"; *tso fang shou* (做方手), which probably means



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

the "crossing of the hands to the four points of the compass"; *tso hsien shih* (做賢事), "practising the acts of the worthies."

These gatherings are generally held at the time of some festival such as the Single Sword Festival (單刀會), the 13th of the 5th moon; the Ch'ing Ming (清明) Festival, about April 5; the Yü Lan (盂蘭), Festival in the 7th moon; and at the New Year. In this way Society business may be done in better security and the officials are deceived. Expenses are met by contributions and entrance fees from novices, by fines for misdemeanours, etc. An elder brother of the Benevolent Lodge is generally invited to preside or "sit on the dragon's head" (坐龍頭), *tso lung t'ou*. He is treated with great respect and formality.

On a dais in the centre of the meeting place is a tablet to Kuan Yü, which is worshipped by all. Before the tablet swords are hung from the roof, and it is supposed that the fear of a sword falling on them will prevent people from worshipping with wrong motives.

Younger members are detached to guard the entrances; they scrutinize every comer so as to guard against attack or surprise by the officials.

The red and the black flag leaders make orations, which are mere gibberish to the uninitiated; the list of members' names is preserved on the dais and worshipped; the president reads aloud the rules of the Society; the novices are introduced by their guarantors to the *Kuan shih* of the 5th grade and he announces their nomination and reception into the lodge.

The following oath is then read: 我們今夜晚結拜一不當頭子二不當眼睛如有當頭子當眼睛照香而死照雞而亡. The meaning is roughly this: "We are met here in conclave to-night; if there should be any false ones come to spy may they die as this incense and perish as this fowl." The incense is then ignited and chopped in two; the chicken's head is chopped off, the blood drained into a bowl of wine, and all the company drink it.

The new members must then worship the tablet beneath the suspended blades, repeat the above oath and drink of the



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

wine. Matters of discipline are attended to ; some members are degraded and some expelled. Where time for repentance is allowed, the offender has to kneel before the tablet and apply a dagger to his thigh till the blood flows freely. This is called *p'u chiao-tao* (撲尖刀), "falling on the knife." The culprit may choose another way of showing penitence—by putting nails on the ground, points upward, and rolling on them naked till his body is bloody. This is called *Kun ting pan*, (滾釘板), "rolling on the nailed board."

The wretch to whom the tribunal refuses space for repentance is at once led out to some grove or other secluded spot and despatched with the sword ; the body is thrown into the river or left to be devoured by dogs.

Those who have done meritorious service to the whole Society or for the senior brethren are raised in rank and honoured by the assembly.

The president then announces that the particular meeting will be known as such and such a hill or water or hall; this enables new members to refer to their initiation without divulging the place of meeting. The novices who first enter the Society and have their positions defined later are said "to first ascend the hill and then plant the willow." The reverse is said of those who before entering state what position they will hold ; and it is these who provide the midnight feast for the assembly.

A member absenting himself from the meetings is punished by being reduced in rank for the second offence, and excluded from the Society for the third. This means he will no longer have the Society's protection ; and though while law and order are maintained he may be safe, when there are disturbances he will most likely pay for broken vows with his life.

Each district has an "anchorage" (碼頭) *ma t'ou*, also known as *kung-k'ou* or *t'ang-k'ou* since the use of *kung-t'ang* (公堂) has been forbidden by law. Each anchorage has a resident elder living in the hall. These halls are often in the houses of the elder brother himself. He keeps a register of



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

affiliated halls and of his own sworn brethren; he entertains guests from a distance and advises or helps brethren who appeal to him for protection or money. Members from other districts should notify their arrival; otherwise if they get into any trouble they will get no help till they have owned their fault. The elder brother of a hall has tremendous power; his orders (上 頭), *shang-fu*, ought to be obeyed without questioning by every loyal Han Liu.

Certain classes, such as barbers, chairbearers, etc., are not allowed to enter the Society. Persons who try to pass themselves off as *chiang-hu* or pretend to higher rank than they really hold are punished by a special tribunal.

The book of rules of the Society is called *hai-ti-shu*, "book of the sea-bottom"; its chief tenets are filial piety, rectitude, benevolence and reverence.

The use of passwords is common. Without knowing the password an entrance might possibly be got into a secret meeting; but I am told it would be practically impossible for the offender to get out alive.

Within the Rectitude Lodge there are cliques whose influence is wholly evil; these are called *hui-fei*, "Society rascals."

Women play a large part in the Society; leading women being called *nü-kuang-kun* (女 光 棍) or "female polished sticks." Youths have a juvenile society organized on the model of the adult Society and known as the *pang* (棒) *pang hui* or Cudgel Society. They exchange cards, make vows, conduct fights and organize petty persecutions of those whom they dislike.

Each anchorage has a *ying-p'in-hui* (迎 賓) with a fund for the entertainment of visitors.

The salutations of the Society are very complex. The general term for them is *tiu-ch'ien-tzŭ* (丟 簽 子) or "casting the tally." Salutations to the chief, second, third, and fifth grades are by placing the hand on the shoulder, elbow, forearm or wrist. Between equals the salutation called "right and



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

left twist (左右歪子), *tso-yu-wai-tzŭ*, is used. Thus the status of members can be recognized at once without enquiry.

A country robber is known as *pang-k'e*, "cudgel guest," and the keeper of a robber's den is called (窩戶) *wo-hu*. Such a keeper has great influence, and may be the helmsman of an anchorage. He receives a large share of the booty. Stolen goods are hidden for a time, then taken into the capital and pawned for a term of years. Later they are dyed and altered and sold to second-hand dealers. The helmsman is nearly always acquainted with the reasons for murders, arsons and robberies in his locality and with the means used.

I have learned on good authority that many people go from home ostensibly on business, but really for dishonourable purposes, for work they can do at a distance with a good conscience, though they would not degrade themselves by doing it near home. If they should happen to relieve of his goods some notable in the Society, the property will soon be restored if he applies in the proper quarter at once, before it is sold or pawned.

It must not be supposed that only the poor and illiterate compose the Han Liu Sodality: many sons of the country gentry join through love of money and adventure. Thus robberies are not made by the poor and half-starved so much as by the strong and able-bodied who are in comfortable circumstances. In fact, but for the connivance and help of the rich it would be impossible for the rogues to carry on their depredations. People say that when a robber gang is equipped for action and makes its appearance at dead of night it is a terrifying sight. Torches are fixed in their caps or hats, their faces are painted with hideous colors, they are armed with battering rams, swords, clubs, crowbars, and latterly with rifles and Mauser pistols. Their attack is sudden and determined, but at the slightest alarm they retire, carrying with them what silver and valuables they have been able to secure. Prior to the raid some servant has been bribed to reveal where the silver is kept.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

If any of the gang should be caught, there is danger that secrets may be let out; but some of the descendants of Lan Ta-shun's bands will defy torture and scorn death. No officials can get their secrets either by torture or cajolery; and no severities used on them seem to have any moral effect on the rest of the gang; indeed it sometimes seems as though the more are killed the more the membership grows.

The chief Han Liu ideal is liberty, which means to them anarchy, selfishness and depravity, and it may be said that the Society is always "agin the government." They are under a kind of military rule, make their own laws and reserve all rights of interpreting and administering them.

There is, however, a growing tendency to social equality and the senior brother does not enjoy the same blind obedience as formerly. Among certain classes his word is no longer law. The tendency is to follow a popular man apart from his social standing; but such a man soon finds himself in a difficult and dangerous position.

In such an organization there must be jealousy and strife. Even in peaceful times deep enmity may exist on personal grounds, between two anchorages in the same street. These factions have been compared to two tigers in the same forest,—fighting must ensue. Suspicion and envy develop into hatred and murder. Officials take advantage and use one faction against another; then secrets are divulged, mutual recriminations follow, and hatred is engendered which may last for generations, one victim after another on both sides being murdered in revenge. A son's duty to avenge a parent's wrong cannot be shirked.

Such conditions produce in members a cruel and relentless disposition, and foster a suspicious and revengeful nature.

As already mentioned, the place held by women in this secret society is not a small one. Many are sworn members, and the mothers and wives are often able assistants of male members. They spy out the land, hide the booty and screen the guilty. It is a rare thing for a woman to be put to death for implication in robbery; and it must be remembered that



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

the mother of adventurous sons will also rear daughters of a similar character, who in turn become the mothers of a new generation of desperate adventurers; and thus a constant succession is assured in spite of official reprisals on the males. Here lies a social problem of immense importance, which might well tax the heart and brain of some great statesman. If brute force could cure the moral and social ills of this people it would by this time have had some effect; but torture and capital punishment have proved futile, and nothing short of a moral and spiritual regeneration will change the Han Liu adventurer into a law-abiding citizen.

This regeneration seems especially necessary for the female population, for the saying, "She who rocks the cradle rules the world" is true in Western China—she who carries the baby rules the land. So long as we have a race of women vicious enough to murder their own offspring in large numbers, to bind their daughters' feet, to abet the men in every crime, so long we shall have a race of brigands and buccaneers to terrify the country at every opportunity.

The hypnotic sects work secretly with the wiliness of serpents till they gain a secure hold; the naturalistic sects are full of bluster and pantomime, yet their propaganda is secret and swift. When either of these elements gains the upper hand the whole district is made to quake. Their methods of black-mail are inimitably ingenious; their revenge on traitors, swift and unswerving. Their cruelties to enemies are indescribable. When their passions are roused their victim will be hacked to pieces, each person cutting off just as much as he desires of the common enemy's flesh. The more daring and cunning he has been the more is his liver and gall wished for, since it is believed that by eating these one's own valour and cunning will be increased.

Before the Revolution of 1911 and the organization of the Railway League, the Society men always had to be reckoned with; but since that date their influence has been supreme, and no one dare give offence to them, however much grieved or injured. If a Society rascal is arrested neighbors



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

dare not refuse to bail him out, and whole families may be ruined for the divulging of a secret. The best policy for all is to humour the members and avoid any action that would rouse their wrath.

*The Railway League* (同志會), *t'ung chih hui*; etc. The Han Liu, true to its ancient traditions, is still the enemy of all reform, and is ever ready for any pretext of making trouble. The proposal to introduce railways into the province caused the formation of the so-called Railway League, in Chinese, "The Society of united purpose for protection of the way." It was really an amalgamation of the Confucian Society with the Han Liu for the purpose of opposing a railway system financed by foreign capital. The new name should not mislead the student; it was simply a revival of the revolutionary brotherhood reinforced by the addition of the weaker Confucian Society. The League leaders were the Han Liu leading elder brothers, and the organization was the anchorage system of the Han Liu.

A rebellion broke out first in Kwan hsien and the other districts already specified as full of brigand stock. The lawless wretches carried devastation and anarchy wherever they marched. They got more than they expected or wanted, but at the downfall of the Manchus they immediately set up the Han Republic (大漢), Ta Han. With the new government many of these outlaws got wealth and were decorated with medals for services rendered to the country, were much honoured by the Republican party, and became honoured officials of the new government. At that period the people had no one to appeal to for redress, since a magistrate was less powerful than a robber; as the Chinese said, "Robbery was done according to law." The poor fled their homes and suffered terribly, and the rich were blackmailed and bullied without mercy. Only those who passed through that crisis know how paralyzing was the grip of the Han Liu octopus.

Later on such taunts were thrown at the Ssŭch'uan Republican party that they determined to reform and started a new Society called the Hsi hua Kung hui (西華公會).



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

The purpose was to dissolve the Railway League and then to eradicate the lawless elements of the Shê hui (社會) or Republican party, raising the rest to a higher standard of citizenship. A system of badges was instituted by which the senior brethren in each county might be recognized, and each clan head was made responsible for all of his name in his district.

Once more the Han Liu Society was faithful to itself, refused to acknowledge the new Society and declined to be reformed. The difficulty thus created was only relieved by an official order to dissolve all Secret Societies, making all alike illegal. The new Society melted its silver badges, but it seems impossible to hope for the extermination of the Han Liu, which, in spite of all adversity, has thriven for so many centuries. There have been later attempts at reform but they seem futile. The Society has entered into ninety per cent. of the homes, permeated all society, controlled well-nigh every institution in Western Shu and probably in a much wider area.

*[To be continued]*



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

# THE JAPANESE-CHINESE QUESTION

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

---

With the help of a little history, and some reasonable allowance for human nature it may be possible for those who have never dwelt long in the Far East to gain a clearer notion of the issues that threaten to embitter feeling between the two most prominent "yellow" powers. In the first place, the Japanese interest in Inner Mongolia is over 1,700 years old, for towards the end of the second century of our Christian era a Tungusic conqueror, then struggling with the ancestors of the Turks on the one hand and with the Chinese on the other, finding himself short of food supplies, bethought himself of the expedient of introducing expert Japanese fishermen to work the Mongolian lake, to this day still known as the *Pu-yii 'rh Hai*, or Fish Catching Sea. The descendants of this Tungusic conqueror did ultimately conquer, and for several centuries reign as Emperors over, the northern half of China, their proclivities being Buddhistic rather than Confucian. The point of the matter, however, is this: Professor Torii Ryuzo of the Imperial College of Science, Tokyo, has of recent years insisted upon the Tungusic origin of the early Japanese settlers who repulsed the Ainu aborigines towards the north. Professor Ryuzo's last book



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

has been translated into French by a Jesuit Father, but evidently certain critics disapprove the above suggestion when they say "Professor Ryuzo *harps upon* his theory." According to the Chinese history of the above-mentioned Tungusic dynasty (recognised and chronicled by China as a legitimate dynasty) the descendants of the Japanese fishermen thus introduced were still found on the lake in the fifth or sixth century A.D. It seems clear, therefore, that, rightly or wrongly, bodies of the Japanese settled in parts of Eastern Mongolia long before the Chinese did so, or claim to have done so.

Towards the end of the ninth century of our era, the Japanese government had diplomatic intercourse with a well-organised Tungusic state occupying a great part of what we now call Central Manchuria; the Chinese called it Puh-hai, and the Japanese (by a perfectly regular transfusion) Botsu-kai; there is quite a complete little Chinese history of its two centuries of development (700–900) if diligent search to find it be made in the right places; but even De Guignes gives us only the scantiest notices, whilst the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* seems to mention but once, and quite casually (under the head of early Manchuria), the mere "tribal name" of Pohai. Both this advanced Tungusic state and Japan herself used to send students freely to the Chinese colleges; and undoubtedly Japan—which was then only just beginning to elaborate, from Sanskrit and Chinese combined, forms of independent syllabic script of its own—received much of its Chinese culture through Puh-hai as well as through Corea, and was thus able to manufacture on Chinese models a retrospective but partly spurious "history" of an Imperial Japan taking in all the native traditions of any value. However, we do not here enter into the question of imitative history; we only wish to mention that, during the thousand years (with a break of pure Chinese rule from about 600 to 900 A.D.) North China was under continuous Tartar rule (about 370 to 1370 A.D.), the Japanese had quite as much legitimate political interest in Eastern Mongolia and



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Manchuria as had the Chinese, and moreover had there probably as many settlers or descendants of settlers.

When Genghiz Khan (1206–1227) and still more his grandson Kublai Khan (1260–1294) set about the conquest first of the Tungusic tribes and finally of all China, including in a certain degree Corea, Japan found herself confronted with a formidable as well as a grosser and more repulsive type of Tartar than she had ever known before: Kublai, failing to impress, in his pique sent a formidable fleet and army to bring the recalcitrant island power to reason, Corea being compelled to facilitate if not actually assist his operations; the result was a crushing defeat for China,—as represented by the overbearing Mongols. Hence, when in 1368 the Chinese rose in revolt and drove the Mongol hordes back to their deserts, Japan was in no mood to tolerate any suzerain pretensions on the part of the new Chinese dynasty founded by a Buddhist priest, and for a couple of centuries successfully parried the dreaded Chinese danger by making incessant "piratical" raids, from Kiaochow (the "German" place) in the far North, to Canton in the far South, and Wuhu far up the Yangtze River, scarcely one of what we now call the "treaty ports" escaping. Corea, on the other hand, welcomed the new native Chinese dynasty, tolerant as the founder was, and remained faithful to it until the very end (1644). The result of all this triangular fencing was that the famous Japanese "Napoleon," Hideyoshi, conquered Corea, and, it is said, even hoped, through Corea, to establish ultimate domination over China (1600 A.D.). Meanwhile, the Manchus, then much less numerous and more uncultured than the Japanese, were coming to the fore: only the name Manchu was new; the dynastic Chinese histories prove quite clearly that the Puh-hai people, and also the Kin (golden) or Nüchên dynasty of North China (1125–1234) displaced by Genghiz and Kublai Khans were both of them simply earlier editions of the same folk, which folk in their earliest recorded stage had been known by repute even to Confucius (500 B.C.).

All three dynastic editions of the Manchu Tunguses had shown great talent for military organisation; the story of how



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

the latest Manchus "slipped in," when the last Chinese Emperor committed suicide or was killed in 1644, has been often told; but stress must here be laid upon the fact that when in 1644 the bold Manchu General Dorgun possessed himself of Peking and set up his nephew as first Manchu Emperor of China, it is quite certain that the whole Manchu warrior host did not exceed 250,000 effectives. The conquest of China was really accomplished by this slender backbone, reinforced by "faithful" Chinese generals, who were, then as now, too often prepared to sell their country's honour in order to feather their own nests. It is not that there is, or was then, any scarcity of honorable feeling in the average Chinese politician or general, but the whole of the Chinese morality for 2,500 or 3,000 years past reposes upon the conception of individual family continuity rather than "patriotism" or loyalty to one ruling race; moreover Chinese military men are rarely well-posted in the lessons of history and philosophy. The Emperor has always been regarded as the Father of the State, and the State was in primitive times the World; there was originally no knowledge of any other State, People, or World. There was really no word for "China" or the Chinese people. Any "barbarian" was welcome as a member of this innominate "human" family so long as he accepted the canons of soul continuity, ancestor "worship," and all the various family or State rituals inseparable therefrom. It was also a canon that this Son of Heaven or Father of the Human Family could only remain such so long as Heaven, the Ancestors of Fathers, or God—the three ideas vaguely merged into one—approved of him: the people were the Emperor's Heaven, and the idea of revolution, or change of dynasty, has always been recognised as the act of Heaven, or Heaven's People, evincing dissatisfaction with the wickedness and incapacity of the ruling house. It does not under this theory matter what "nationality" the new house belongs to, for the simple reason that, as above explained, there was no nationality in the ancient conception: from our less vague but more practical point of view, the great thing was to "get there," accepted of the people, i.e., of the world, and then—



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

*j'y suis j'y reste*—until Heaven speak afresh through popular discontent or other fatality: thus, Tungusic, Manchu, Tibetan Emperors have held parts, half, and even the whole of China easily, and their "orthodoxy" in history as Sons of Heaven depends on the effectiveness of their rule. A Japanese *Tenshi* (Son of Heaven) would do as well as a native or a Tartar if he once "got there" and secured the adhesion of "those that mattered"—it was only by a fluke of mismanagement, coupled with the fact that American Democracy had made a few intellectually powerful converts, that Yüan Shi-kai's election by Heaven came to grief. One has only to study the official papers of 1915–1916 to see that his "call" was recognised generally. The Japanese, who are nowadays much better read in Chinese history than the Chinese themselves, quite understood all this by hereditary instinct, as they owe nearly all their basic abstract ideas to China; hence there grows up in Japan a party, by no means exclusively military, which is eager to "have a shot at it," or, as the old Chinese saying goes, "to hunt the stag."

Japanese history up to the nineteenth century is only of world interest to us to the extent that the squabbles of Mercian and Wessex kings is interesting to them; war and internecine strife between factions have been their lot incessantly until the puppet *Tenshis*, run by the practical *Shoguns* (*Maires de palais*) forced a sort of "German peace," under which the people for a couple of centuries lived quietly and on the whole happily until we Europeans broke the spell. The Russians gave the first alarm a century ago; then came the Americans and ourselves. In self-defence the ruling classes had to reconsider the situation; China, the only real power of which they had then any practical knowledge, had gone by the board, but fortunately for the Japanese themselves, they soon developed a steadfast military ardour such as the Chinese had never more than fitfully shown, besides methodically applying European literature and science to defensive ends. The results were astonishing: China flattened out in 1894, the "Boxers" in 1900, Russia in 1904, Germany in 1914: unquestionably Japan now is a Great Power



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

of the very first rank, and she has earned every penny of her position by hard work. Moreover in all four campaigns she exhibited a decency and restraint very different from the cruel arrogance of the Germans in 1914–1918.

Japan took a very bold step when she placed herself unreservedly on the side of the Entente in 1914. We British take considerable credit to ourselves for our fidelity to Belgian engagements at a moment when prompt decision one way or another involved terrible and unknown responsibilities, and, however much we may hug the sense of our own virtue, there are still many opinions abroad, and even at home, that self-interest was the real foundation of our decision. Japan had to come to an equally hasty decision in the Far East, and is as much entitled to hug her sense of virtue as we are; for her fidelity to treaty undoubtedly saved the situation from immediate and pressing danger there as much as ours did in Flanders and France; Japan's enemies and grudging neutrals are of course as ready to suggest base self-interest in Japan's case as in our case. But Japan had to calculate what might happen in case the Entente were defeated, and it is therefore not to be surprised at that different parties in Tokyo held conflicting views as to how Japan might hedge, or reinsure, or anticipate, according to what or should or might possibly happen. Only ten years had elapsed since Russia gave Japan the fright of her life, menacing the existence not only of Corea but also of Japan herself; had the Russian people as well as the Russian ruling coterie understood, approved, and put any heart into the effort to crush Japan, it might have succeeded, and China certainly could and would have done nothing to comfort the island power. In the event of a complete victory over the Entente by Germany and her allies, what was Japan to expect? How was she to fortify herself against the vengeance of this or that combination of the three great powers she had checked in turn? In the event of a complete victory of the Entente over Germany and her allies—which for some time seemed more problematical than the contrary event—what guarantees did she hold for her position in the Pacific? And could she make sure that the



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

five-year-old annexation of Corea, carried out in order to put a stop once for all to Chinese and Western intrigue in that boneless country, would not be reversed, and her own security once more gravely compromised? Small wonder then, that these and many other uncertainties worried the conflicting schools of political thought in Japan during the fitful heavings of Europe's travail, apart from the chances of securing immediate advantages in trade, finance, and political influence by securing timely supporters in China. China's best friends must feel that she lost golden opportunities of establishing herself as a world power during these four or five years of harrowing uncertainty. If in 1915–1917 she had been able to put up as much well-considered public spirit in favour of justice and democracy the world over as she ultimately displayed of ill-considered public spirit against the Japanese success at the Peace Conference of 1919,—which might easily have been arranged without recourse to boycotts and violence,—she would probably have by this time taken high world rank after or even with the "Big Five." But unfortunately during the three critical years when her effective government, if united, might have done everything, the ineffective government, being disunited and given up to faction fighting or personal considerations of pelf and power, did nothing at all, or acted in doubtful good faith when it tried to do something more or less definite: nothing could be more ill-judged than for one ally who had done practically nothing for the common cause to try and force another ally who had done everything for the common cause to submit through the agency of the general body of allies to mutilation and self-stultification, more especially when the one ally thus seeking publicly to humiliate the other had, through her highest officers of state, weakly agreed (without the general body of allies knowing exactly what she was doing, and why) to sign agreements against her own permanent interests, coquetting meanwhile with the enemies' subjects.

Though the Chinese make excellent soldiers under proper discipline and training, no Chinese general for at least a century past has displayed any convincing capacity for war



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

on a large scale: without Gordon, Tsêng Kwoh-fan and Li Hung-chang would have scarcely been able to crush the Taiping rebellion; without French assistance via Tonquin, Ts'ên Yüh-ying would have had doubtful success in crushing the Panthays of Yun Nan. Tso Tsung-t'ang's great conception of making his own army cultivate its own food and of sweeping away the power of Yakub Beg in one great drive is about the sole outstanding instance of masterly Chinese strategy during the ninteenth century. Just as 275 years ago the Manchu mounted host quickly lapped up the whole Empire with their bows and arrows, aided by the willing coöperation of "faithful" Chinese, so, if all Western powers had agreed to stand entirely aside in 1915, Japan would probably have had little difficulty, efficiently armed with the most modern equipments and aided by the willing coöperation of "faithful" *tuchüns*, "in mopping up" province after province, Tibet, Mongolia, and Kashgaria included. In spite of its latter-day degeneracy, the Manchus governed and increased the population of China in a way unheard-of before; Chinese antiquity has nothing to compare with the three Manchu Emperors, K'ang-hi, Yung-chêng, and K'ien-lung, for the quality of simply "letting things be" and seizing opportunity as it occurred Possibly a Japanese dynasty would be equally effective if left a free hand to work out "yellow" progress on modern lines, and China might once have been happy under it.

But the example of Corea's development under Japanese tuition warns us that nowadays self-determination and racial sentiment appeal to men's minds much more than mere peaceful order and material prosperity, even supposing that Japan had proved herself to be as calm and capable in civil government as she has proved herself formidable in war. Moreover it would be a sad spectacle to see unfortunate China, with her nigh 3,000 years of history recorded almost day by day, her magnificent literature, her capacity for education, religion, industry, and morality—to see all this go under without a friendly effort to save her, to give her yet a chance. In a sense it may be said that in 1904 Japan saved China from Russia, and China was duly grateful for it; she



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

was even disposed to accept the fraternal guidance of Japan; in fact Japan lost after the revolution a ripe chance which may never occur again of binding China to her by bonds of almost racial sympathy; for, although of different race origin, the two peoples for 1,500 years at least grew up under one and the same moral and literary inspiration of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and general Chinese state philosophy. North China during the past 1,500 years has been ruled by alien races for at least half that period; but the same thing has always occurred; the hardier alien race has always softened under the more gentle and cultured Chinese influence, and has never succeeded in holding on or in establishing a permanent moral superiority or even equality capable of competing successfully in mental strategy with that of China.

The present apparent *impasse* is perhaps owing as much to the excessive eagerness of party spirit in Japan as to excessive carelessness and timidity on the part of inexperienced Chinese negotiators. The suggestion made by the *Times* a few months ago that Japan by a voluntary *beau geste* might arrange a reasonable settlement direct with China without there being left the slightest feeling of having had to yield to Western pressure seems very much to the point. Viscount Uchida's recent attempt to find a solution also seems to show an inclination on the part of experienced civilian Japanese supporters to look well before taking the final leap.

The above general considerations may possibly assist in evolving a political settlement quite beyond the competence of the writer. As a nation, China probably needs less "government" than any other, as throughout the war the people as a body of cultivators have done what they have always done, throughout changes of dynasty, that is, quietly governed themselves and gone methodically about their own business: the state of foreign trade, the brilliant success of Sir R. Dane's salt reforms, the gradual advance of education, religious tolerance, justice, and so on, all tend to prove this, whatever surface disturbances self-interested politicians may have caused.



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

There is little danger except under extreme provocation of Bolshevist confusion taking root in the practical Chinese mind, though the brutal riff-raff levied by Lenin from among the miners and freebooters of Manchuria shew what a peril to Europe larger hordes of disgruntled Chinese might become. The political aims of the steadier element both in North and South China seem to drift more and more towards a federation of states after the American model; for local sentiment in China is strong, and the old idea of having non-provincial civilian officials seems to have gone by the board. The "my country right or wrong" feeling so powerful in the United States takes a reverse direction in China, where the hereditary instinct is rather "myself right or wrong"; "my family right or wrong"; "my clan, my district, my province, right or wrong"; thus the feeling of national loyalty inherent in the orderly Chinese mind enfeebles itself politically the higher it goes. Japan, as China's only organised neighbour not unnaturally has "special interests" in all this, and it is therefore to be hoped the "Big Five" will end by arranging a compromise fair to all, and above all fair to "400,000,000 one womb," as the Chinese are now fond of styling themselves.



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

# NOTES AND QUERIES

*The Editor will be pleased to receive notes for these pages, or queries, or answers to queries*

The REVIEW is not the place for current politics, but Professor Parker's article in this number is too good to be excluded. It is only semi-political and readers are asked to regard the valuable historical treatment of matters rather than the references to a present-day difficulty.

* * *

The portrait of Protessor Parker—obtained from Elliott and Fry—is not dated, but it is evidently not "present day."

* * *

In reply to the query on p. 541 of Vol. I, T. C. Hutchison, Esq., replies: "It would appear that the circular inscription is in the ordinary 'seal character' (*Chou tzŭ*) as given in the *Shuo Wên*, and reads in modern Chinese as: *fei yün ko*, meaning: fly cloud pavilion. It is simply the maker's mark, and some such phrase as 'Hall of the Scudding Clouds' would serve as a translation;—in much the same way as a piece of plate might be marked 'Mappin and Webb' or 'E. P.'

"The oblong inscription is Arabic and means: 'In the name of God the merciful.' It is to be seen in all Mahom-



Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

medan mosques and the 'incense-burner' is perhaps an oil lamp such as is commonly used in those buildings."

* * *

R. D. Abraham, Esq., also sends the modern form of the Arabic inscription with a translation by Mr. D. S. Somekh—"BISMILLAH AL RAHMAN AL RAHIM"—"In the name of the Most Merciful God," and states that "all chapters of the Koran except the 9th begin with this phrase."

* * *

With respect to Mr. Hutson's articles on "Chinese Life in the Tibetan Foothills," it may appear to some who are familiar with China that there is a good deal of merely commonplace information. It must be remembered, however, that a single fact or saying, however commonplace to residents, may be extremely valuable to some student of folklore or ethnology in another part of the world. It is by the commonplace that the common people are illustrated. It must also be borne in mind that the observations are not those of one who rushed through the district with a note-book and an interpreter, but of a student who has lived for years in intimate relations with the people and has noted things common and uncommon with exactitude and care.

## 黎 民 (cf. AUGUST, pp. 441, 442)

My attention has been specially drawn to Mr. Arlington's most interesting suggestion that (黎 民) *li-min* means "husbandmen." Mr. Arlington does not point out what may seem to some his best argument, that (黎) *li* is composed of (黍) *shu*, "millet," and 勿, which looks suspiciously like some sort of reaping hook. My next remark is that Mr. Arlington is inclined, if I may say so, to beg the question. He has apparently used a commentary on the (堯典) *Yao-tien* which is not accessible to me; but it seems difficult to see how the sentence which he quotes (黎民於變乃是民耳) can be regarded as proving that "the term 百姓 is derived from the hundred official clans," or even (if that is what is intended) that



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

"there was a distinction between the 黎民 and 百姓." Then again (on p. 442) he writes, "the sentence (保我黎民) does not mean 'Protect our black-haired people,' but, 'Protect our husbandmen.'" The student asks inevitably, "Who told you so?" Or if we take the sentence from the *Odes* (大雅, 桑柔 verse 2), is Mr. Arlington's meaning so very obvious? (靡國不泯) "No kingdom is not ruined," (民靡有黎) "Of the people none has *husbandmen!*" Supposing that (黎) *li* cannot here stand for (利) *li*, "prosperity," still does not "black hair" make as good sense as "husbandmen"?

* * *

But my reason for writing is really to suggest that our recent European dictionaries have needlessly exaggerated our belief that (黎) *li* means "black-haired," relying entirely on Chu Hsi and Legge.

* * *

The *Shuo Wên* (A.D. 121) says (黎) *li* means (履黏) *li-mien*, "shoe-paste" (or whatever *li-mien* may be—I don't pretend to know).

* * *

The *Yü-pien* (A.D. 543), as quoted in *K'ang-hsi*, says (黎) *li* means (衆) *chung*, "many."

* * *

The *Chêng-yün* (? date) quoted in *K'ang-hsi*, says (黎) *li* means (黑) *hei*, "black"; and the *Shih-ming* (2nd century) quoted under the same heading (黑), says (土青曰黎) "Mould that is dark-coloured is called *li*."

* * *

The modern *Tz'ŭ-yüan* gives (黎) *li* three meanings, viz. 1. (衆) *chung* "many." 2. (種族名) *chung-tsu-ming*, "the name of a tribe." 3. (姓) *hsing*, "a surname"—i.e., of course, that *li* is used as a surname and as the name of a tribe. It gives also, among others, the following phrases: 1. (黎民, *li-min*: 黎衆也。謂庶民也。一說。黎黑也) "*li* means 'many,' the phrase refers to the common people. Another explanation is that *li* means 'black.'" 2. (黎庶, *li-shu*: 謂百



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

姓也) "the phrase refers to the people." Instances are quoted from 韓詩後傳 and the 晉書. 3. (黎蒸, *li-chêng*: 民也。(漢書) 覺寤黎蒸 (注) 衆庶也) "the people. The *Han-shu* has Chüeh wu li chêng with the note: [li chêng] means 'all the common people.'"

* * *

In the passage from the *Yao-tien*, the only native commentary I have, says 黎衆也 making the phrase 黎民於變 mean, I suppose, "All the people, lo! were transformed." The ordinary commentary by (蔡) Ts'ai (13th century), quoted in *K'ang-hsi*, says (黎黑也) "*li* means 'black.'" In the same way my notes on the (大雅) *Ta-ya* say that (黎) *li* means either (齊) *ch'i*, "even" or "good" or "perfect," or (不齊) *pu-ch'i*, the opposite; while Chu Hs'i's standard notes say (黎黑也謂黑首也), "*li* means 'black,' referring to black heads of hair."

* * *

All the meanings of *li* quoted above from native dictionaries may be found in Morrison, and all except the "shoe-paste" in Williams, but the larger and smaller dictionaries now in more general use seem to me to give undue preference to the meanings "black" or "black-haired." On the other hand we should like Mr. Arlington to produce some reputable authority for his "husbandmen" or at least one example from a native author where that meaning is absolutely required by the context. In other cases, too, Mr. Arlington would add value to his interesting notes if he would give his sources and authorities in more detail. For example, Professor Giles must have felt rather pleased when he first translated the classical (色難) *se nan* as "It is hard to define"; but now he is told, without one quotation to support the statement, that the phrase "is constantly used." The remark is no doubt perfectly true, but it is of little value to the lexicographer or student unless it is supported by examples and references. And we want to know more about the idea of "duties" or "duty," which, though Mr. Arlington seems hardly conscious of it, is a real modification of Professor Giles' view.

C. M.



Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

# RECENT LITERATURE

*Sino-Iranica*, Chinese contributions to the History of Civilisation in Ancient Iran, with Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products, by Berthold Laufer. Chicago, 1919.

The flora of a country is studied in several ways. The merest tyro in botany can make a collection of the plants in his locality, dry them, and send them to Kew Gardens or elsewhere for identification. This is a very necessary work, and for China has resulted in Forbes and Hemsley's *Index Florae Sinensis*. But how much remains to be done in this elementary work may be seen from Rev. Père Courtois' statement that in Bretschneider "not more than twenty-five species are mentioned for Anhui and the floral page for Honan is still blank." *Encyclopaedia Sinica s.v.* Botany.

A further development of the study consists in examining the affinities of the Chinese flora with the florae of other countries, and again in deciding on what plants are indigerous. It is certain that through Japan being more open to exploration, there are many species labelled *japonica* which should be *sinensis*.

Beyond all this, however, is the task of those Sinologues who instead of culling flowers on the hill-side, have taken the names of plants in ancient Chinese literature with a view to



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

identification, Bretschneider and Faber being the chief workers on these lines.

The book before us has a still wider sweep and takes a far more general view. It is a work of vast erudition and shows a wonderful amount of linguistic knowledge. We must, however, begin by saying that though our above remarks are prompted by the sub-title this is not primarily a work on botany; its subject is the connection between old Persia and China.

Iranian peoples once extended far east, occupying Turkestan, and by close contact with the Chinese, made a bridge between the extreme east and west of Asia. In the west Iranian literature is left to us only in fragments, and these have not been fully studied. In Central Asia, through the labours of Chavannes, Stein, Pelliot and others, unknown languages used by Iranian races have lately come to light and will be invaluable for the reconstruction of our knowledge of Old-Persian civilisation. But the Iranian peoples with whom the Chinese came most in contact were without a written language; yet, as on the beach the farthest-reaching waves leave ripple marks on the harder sand, so traces of the Iranian culture are found to-day in the literature of China. The Chinese have always been careful students of plants, as is shewn by their long series of *Pên Ts'ao* works; they have preserved for us many Iranian names and other particulars of plants introduced from Persia, and it is from such evidence that Laufer seeks to add to the reconstruction of the civilisation of Iran.

Plants, of course, are not the only things to be thus studied. Dr. Laufer has already dealt with armour, etc. in his *Chinese Clay Figures*, and he promises to treat zoölogy in a later volume. Indeed, the work before us has a chapter on textiles and another on minerals, metals and precious stones. There are besides several Appendices on linguistic matters, and moreover an interesting chapter on plants etc. transferred from China into Persia.

Dr. Laufer seeks to destroy the "Chang Ch'ien legend" which attributes to that warrior such a wholesale introduction



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

of new genera into China, and affirms that he brought nothing but the two treasures of alfalfa and the grape-vine.

We do not hesitate to say there is no one in China who can properly review this book; for adequate criticism we must look for articles by French savants in French journals. We will finish our notes here by summarising the first chapter, which is on alfalfa. This will suffice to show what a true *po-shih* (博士) the erudite and versatile author is.

We are first referred to the earliest extant literary allusion to alfalfa (*Medicago sativa*), which is in Aristophanes, and the Greek line is given us; then the Greek name Mēdikē is discussed; after which we pass to the use of the plant in Iraṇ as fodder for their splendid breed of horses. These horses were much desired by the Chinese, who called them *han hsüeh* (汗血) or blood-sweating, and believed them the off-spring of a heavenly horse.

We are then regaled with a discussion of the Chinese name for alfalfa, *mu su* (苜蓿); we have the Sanskrit, the Japanese, the Tibetan, Russian and other names also given us, with a good deal of varied information on the uses of the plant as an article of human food, fodder, etc. and we are certainly in the final sentence brought down to modern days by a reference to the United States Department of Agriculture, which has introduced alfalfa seeds from China, and to the indebtedness of the Argentine for its cattle-breeding to this plant.

We cannot but regret that the author has used a new transcription of Chinese. It may be more scientific, as the phonetic spelling of English would be; but till acquired with some trouble it is a mere stumbling-block and irritation to most readers.

---

*Old Tartar Trails*, by A. S. Kent, Shanghai; *North-China Daily News aud Herald*, 1919,. 153 pp. Illustrated. $6.00.

This is an unpretentious account of an uneventful journey, but it makes more satisfactory reading than some gorgeous narratives of wild adventure.



Digitized by Google
Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

The author talks much of the glamour of travel, of the "call of the wild" and so on, but surely Mongolia is one of the least pleasant of lands to visit; the flies, the lack of food, the filth, the delays, the bitter cold make a heavy price to pay for the pleasure of seeing some interesting people with their barbaric customs. There is a sustaining purpose if one is doing scientific exploration, but we think and have experienced that most of the pleasure in rough travel is of the *Haec olim meminisse* order.

Kiachta was reached by motor-car from a station on the Siberian railway, and thence five days by horse and telenga, a Siberian springless vehicle, brought the traveller to Urga. This was preferable at that season of the year to the long journey across the desert from Kalgan. From Urga began the arduous journey to Kobdo, past the ruins of Karakorum, to Uliassutai and Kobdo, thence over the spur of the Altai mountains to Biisk and so to civilisation again. There were no wild adventures, the worst being the upsetting of the conveyance, which "might have been serious;" nothing but daily and even worse nightly miseries. In the style of writing there is something reminiscent of the note-book: thus we are told too many times of the difficulty of dismounting at a station until the natives had driven away the savage watch-dogs. But the straight-forward narrative is very pleasing. We get to know a little more of a country and people once so important in world-history and still such a problem for the future. Those who can enjoy a plain tale by an observant and truthful traveller, not professing to be scientific or archæological, will find this an eminently readable work.

A few misprints disfigure the book. One chapter leaves off at Uliassutai and the next begins "On the 3rd of July we left Kobdo." This is sudden: it should be "left for Kobdo." There are valuable Appendices concerned with trade, communications, etc. There are capital pictures from the author's own photographs and a sufficiently satisfactory map.



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

*REPLY LETTERS by S. P. Smith to R. F. Johnston's Letters to a Missionary*, 63 pp. Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1919.

That Mr. Smith should reply to the criticism of his views by Mr. Johnston was inevitable; if he could not remain quiet when Mr. Frost discussed what is after all a minor point in theology, how much more was he impelled to speak when his main position was assailed by a critic. We seem to be in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries again, with their religious pamphleteering. As a mere debater Mr. Johnston must have the palm unless, of course, we grant Mr. Smith's assumption of the literal inspiration of the Scriptures; he makes a partial disclaimer of this on page 10, but it practically underlies all he says; whereas it is the very thing he should have proved. Both debaters manifest for the most part a fine spirit; Mr. Johnston tends to be flippant and irreverent at times, Mr. Smith is at least once peevish and uncharitable (in his judgment of Dean Inge, p. 41). He does not understand the mystics as well as Mr. Johnston, and it is quite unjust to describe the latter as "a most outspoken opponent of all that a Christian means by the word 'religion.'" If Mr. Smith is not writing for his friends merely, and really wants to persuade his opponent, it is sheer stupidity to assure him that some day he will bow before God (p. 20, note) and to criticice him for coming to the Scriptures as an intellectual critic and not a humble learner (p. 17). Generally speaking the discussion has served the useful purpose of clearing the air somewhat, and of bringing into clear perspective one phase of the modern form of the age-long dispute between the conservative and the liberal; of proving once again that they do not speak nor understand each other's tongue. But surely all that is useful has now been said; let us hope that Mr. Johnston will not feel obliged to return to the charge, and waste his special gifts in the unprofitable continuance of controversy. After all, he might win the debate every time and yet be further from the truth than is Mr. Smith.



Digitized by Google

Original from INDIANA UNIVERSITY

We have also received the invaluable *Calendrier Annuaire* (Zikawei, Catholic Mission), the only fault of which is that it seems too full of information ; the *Far Eastern Review* for January, with some very readable and useful articles ; the very promising numbers of the new weekly *Finance and Commerce*, and the *Bulletin de l'Ecole française*, tome XIX, N° 4 (La Justice dans l'ancien Annam, par L. Deloustal).



Digitized by Google

Original from
INDIANA UNIVERSITY